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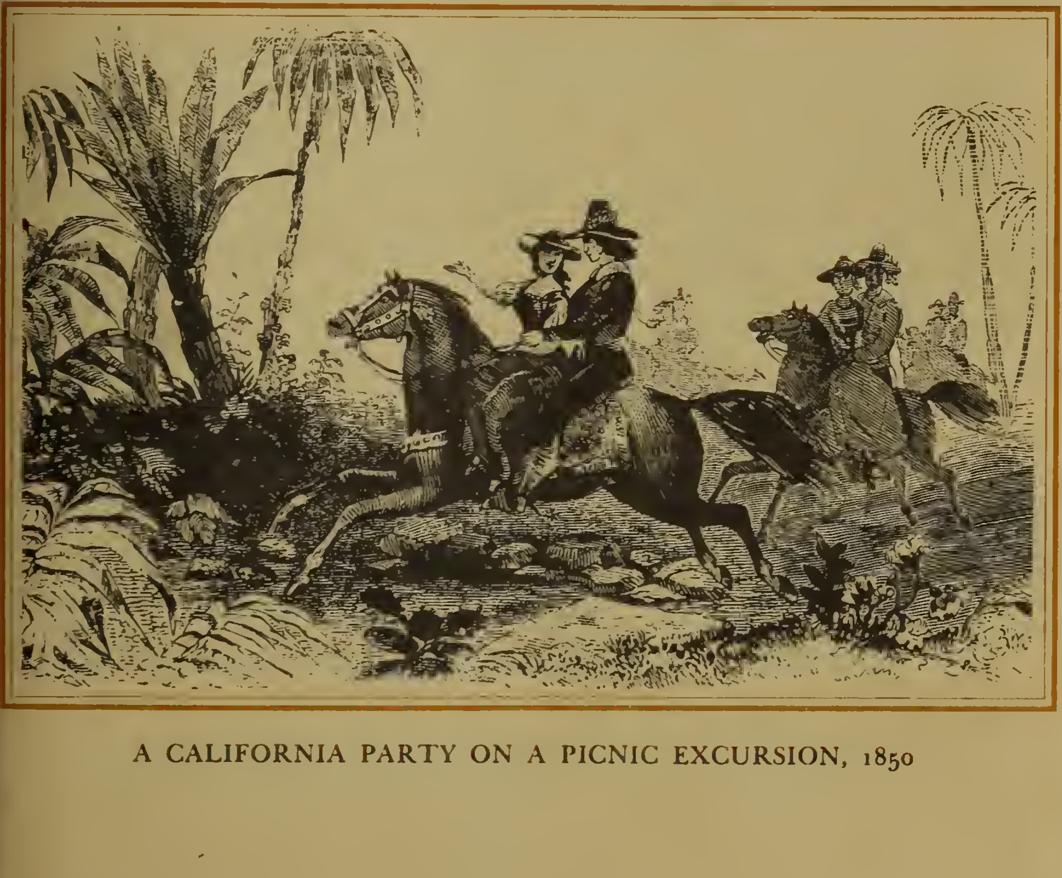

A CALIFORNIA PARTY ON A PICNIC EXCURSION, 1850

NOTE: Beginning with this issue of the *Quarterly*, Volume 51, No. 1, the date of publication will be designated by season rather than month.

COVER: When California thrust itself upon the consciousness of the civilized world, the demand for scenes of life in the land of gold led to some curious excesses by way of the engraver's flights of fancy. We have seen cases where San Francisco Bay seemed lifted from a view of Rio de Janeiro or a California mission took on the aspect of a scene in some suburb of Madrid. A fancy of classic charm is our cover illustration of a typical California picnic excursion which first appeared in Walter Colton's *Three Years in California*. The engraver was not just uninformed—he was a poet whose inner eye surely told him what it must be like.

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Abe Ruef Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco

> *Back of all this Ruef question is the fundamental question, "What is graft?" When a Catholic gives a dollar to a priest to have a Mass said for him the Protestant shouts "graft." When a Protestant gives his minister a fee for funeral services the atheist shouts "graft." When Heney gets $42,000 from a corporation for 42 hours' work, all his enemies shout "graft." When Ruef gets $100,000 from another corporation also for work the whole town yells "graft." But the still, small voice still asks the question, "What is graft?"*
>
> Father Peter C. Yorke
> *The Leader*, April 11, 1908

TO THE IMMIGRANT POOR, the political boss embodied the guardian angel who provided daily bread and deliverance from the strange new evils surrounding a new urban life. To settlement workers he was the lowborn corruptionist who led the ignorant into temptation by trading in vice and corruption. To the reformer he symbolized the impurity in the body politic which prevented America from reaching its democratic destiny. Perspectives differed, yet the images conjured up by names such as William Tweed, Tom Pendergast, James Curley, and Frank Hague remain deeply etched in historical reflections.[1]

Functionally, the traditional boss served in capacities as numerous as the contemporary interpretations. By leading a political organization, he chose the standup candidates for public office. Through them, and through party subordinates, the boss actuated election strategy and manipulated the vote and the voters. The political machine which he headed served as the mechanism whereby the resources for victory were mobilized and dispersed in order to advance personal and organizational goals. And as his machine fed and grew, it allowed the boss to select and advance an ever-growing number of party functionaries—men engaged in machine maintenance and servicing its varied constituencies.

The central reason why the boss took charge in post-Civil War cities was that virtually no one else did. Governmental forms which had satisfied village needs of an earlier America staggered under the vast immigrant onslaughts and the new demands of an industrial age. The boss installed himself as the professional politician who coordinated or centralized governmental decision-making by shouldering aside the ineffective dilettante who, through a sense of duty, had condescended to take a turn at the commonweal. Richard Croker, the boss who led Tammany Hall to victory under the imperative "To hell with reform," put the whole matter rather aptly. In response to the question of Lincoln Steffens, "Why should there be bosses when cities had mayors, councils, and judges?" Croker's answer was simple. "It's because there's a mayor *and* a council *and* judges *and*—a hundred other men to deal with. . . . A business man wants to do business with one man, and one who is always there to remember and carry out the —business." The boss, while normally holding no public office, served as an unofficial nervous system for a decapitated monster whose ever extending extremities might otherwise flay unknowing bystanders with total unpredictability. The boss, at least, was predictable. On this all agreed—favor seekers, settlement workers, and reformers alike.[2]

In the vortex which surrounded the boss, growing economic interests scrambled for preferment in the expanding urban frontier. There they met and interacted with diffused, adolescent political institutions. Spokesmen and upper echelon functionaries of the business world recognized in bossism an identifiable central point at which to approach urban government. Once the boss was negotiated, the businessman's problem reduced itself to the normal requirements of production, delivery of goods or services, and the collection of payments. What placed the industrialist or the utilities magnate in this bargaining position was the backing of corporate capital balanced against the need for governmental sanction of his enterprises.[3]

The boss's claims rested upon his comprehension of the intricacies of an expanding urban environment and his ability to coordinate and control urban government's varied activities. To deliver what the business sector sought, the boss relied basically upon officeholders who owed their place to his machine, and who were further dependent upon his goodwill and support for their future well-being. These officeholders comprised the superstructure of a pervasive and enduring invisible government which provided the boss with the administrative wherewithal to coordinate otherwise random governmental functions and factions.[4]

In the 1890's, Croker commanded an army of 90,000 precinct workers subdivided under the direct control of block and precinct captains who, in turn, received their directions from, and reported to, their ward leaders. Action on all political fronts was initiated by Croker's orders to his thirty-five ward leaders. All these machine tenders not only voted themselves—once being the minimum—but devoted many working hours to the continuous manipulation of voters. Platoons of politicized boys started their own careers with the machine by flushing out election day drunks and herding them to the polls, accompanied by sorties of repeaters hired by ward leaders. Ward men who would not subordinate themselves to the machine risked losing their places in the only institution they understood, the one which afforded them reason for being.[5]

These large numbers of men who staffed machines found place, direction, and fulfillment within the organization. As functionaries, politicized by a life of machine tending, they performed their prescribed tasks, as routine as they were, firm in the belief that with persistence, time, and loyalty, they too would be advanced in and by the organization. They generally believed formal city government to be irrelevant, if not illegitimate, with only the machine truly representing the people. Because so many shared this attitude and passed it on to their urban descendents, the boss and his machine lived to become a pervasive institution.[6]

The fundamental task of those who served the boss was to deliver the vote on election day. When a ward leader did this regularly and with a heavy majority, almost any other deficiency could be tolerated. If he failed, nothing could redeem him from the scorn of his own vote-maximizing colleagues and the boss's retribution. The organization man never questioned vote maximization as the standard of his personal worth, and at times suffered psychic pressures so intense that all perspective vanished. Such was the case when Bowery leader Tim Sullivan confessed that the Republicans polled all of four votes in one precinct. This total represented one vote greater than his projection, and to reestablish his shaken credibility Sullivan vowed, "I'll find that feller."[7]

To doubt that a boss could deliver on such a promise ignores the extraordinary rapport such men shared with the neighbors among whom they lived and worked. Bosses were community men who, with their heelers, knew everyone in the district, their political attitudes, and the way to reach them. The once mighty Tweed reportedly could identify every fourth New Yorker who passed his prison window. Chicago's John Powers displayed this closeness of bosses to their voters after Jane Addams failed in her celebrated attempt to block the alderman's reelection. Powers agreed that he was not the sort of man reformers liked, but hastened to add: "I am what my people like, and neither Hull House nor all the reformers in town can turn them against me."[8]

The nucleus of a boss's popular support, the urban working class, usually consisted of recent immigrants and their children. Concentrated in slum

1908—Abe Ruef gets a tip during a break in his trial.

districts, they provided the solid political base from which many a boss had emerged, and to which each anchored his machine. During auspicious times the machine aggressively foraged for votes in more prosperous neighborhoods. But when reform crested, the home wards guaranteed the minimum electoral success necessary for access to the patronage of survival. Even though machines were hierarchical in structure, with the boss at the apex, the popular base remained a vital ingredient and a constantly present factor in the boss's thoughts. Day in and day out the machine attended its people with favors, services, and entertainments, while also trading on their fears, hopes, ignorance, and pride. The relationship of the boss to the machine and to the people was characterized not only by pervasive familiarity, but also by stability and predictability.[9]

In their well-defined and circumscribed environment, the participants fully understood one another. Often from similar ethnic groups, they were neighborhood or parish men with limited intellectual horizons. They shared compatible subcultural values and experiences which resulted in a striking uniformity of perception and outlook. No wonder the political boss and his legions within the machine actually could conduct business based upon their own circumspect advice: never write when you can say it, and never say it when you can nod. Such men understood all the nod's implications because they were one in the spirit.[10]

As the boss advanced those who shared this uniformity of outlook, the political machine slowly, but persistently, became a formidable institution. When its constituent parts (boss, party functionaries, officeholders, and electoral support) were well-tuned, significant results could follow, as in 1913, when Charles Murphy, Croker's Tammany successor, ordered Governor William Sulzer impeached and removed from office following a patronage disagreement. On that occasion Tammany included a massive bureaucracy of disciplined officeholders and party functionaries. They comprised a machine, and Murphy bossed them.[11]

San Francisco's Abe Ruef considered himself a boss. So did the press, his prosecutors, and the California Supreme Court. At first glance Ruef does appear every bit a political boss—granted, an unusual one. Though an upper-middle-class Jew and valedictorian of the University of California's class of 1883, Ruef enjoyed urban politics. The dynamics of local power captivated him every bit as much as they did the eastern Irish who used political machines to crawl from teeming tenement slums. During his formative years Ruef observed how ward politicians gathered votes, distributed patronage, and tended their organizations. While at the apex of his own career he directed San Francisco's state legislators and the city's delegates to state conventions. Acting in a private capacity as an attorney, Ruef commanded incredible fees which he then passed on, in part, to appropriate officeholders who gratified the desires of his clients—usually franchise-seeking corporations.[12]

All this activity resided clearly within the preserve normally held by the urban political boss. If anything, Abe Ruef seemed not only to meet the standard set by the more common Irish bosses, he surpassed it. He manipulated the political process from behind the scenes with cunning and dexterity. He wrote speeches and constructed political platforms. When the occasion required, Ruef even functioned as his own best advance man. He valiantly defended his own handiwork with a cultivated mind and ready wit before which hostile audiences first mellowed and then applauded under the spell of his thoroughly engaging platform personality.[13]

Ruef appears the embodiment of the traditional boss, until one basic question is asked of his brief but extraordinary record. Who did boss Ruef boss? Upon close analysis the equally extraordinary answer is that Ruef bossed virtually no one. To conclude that this qualified him as not just a boss, but somewhat of a mystic besides, would be to go beyond the bounds of history. The more appropriate conclusion seems to be that Ruef, having no machine, was really no boss at all.[14]

As Walton Bean clearly stated in his study, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco*, Ruef was an opportunist. Only indirectly or by interpellation, however, can one realize that Ruef stood at the apex of no machine and that the title "boss" is therefore a confusing misnomer. Ruef's powers were derived from his personal relationship with Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz, the attractive orchestra leader whose nomination Ruef finessed through the convention of the new and politically naive Union Labor Party. Ruef's temporary powers rested not on years of patient machine building, but upon his clear perception of San Francisco's shifting political tides and his ability to navigate their surges.[15]

At the turn of the twentieth century, San Francisco was well on its way toward becoming one of the nation's most tightly organized labor towns. Union spokesmen had organized politically before Ruef intervened and captured their embryonic movement. He had perceived more clearly than they that a labor candidate could win in a three-cornered race against the traditional parties. Unlike the classic urban boss, Ruef did not spend a long and tedious life meticulously cultivating a political organization rooted in an urban slum. His attention to the electorate instead remained incidental to his manipulations at the top. In spite of his youthful exposures, Ruef never developed as a ballot stuffer, never became a head cracker. He took the electorate ready-made and presented it with what, under his accurate assessment of the given conditions, it would find acceptable: Schmitz for mayor on the Union Labor ticket.[16]

San Francisco's history of phenomenal ethnic diversity has not been sufficiently explored as an explanation for the rise and fall of both Ruef and his prosecutors. Ruef recognized the rising surge of labor sentiment and, as an ethnic himself, appreciated the subcultural preferences and affinities of the electorate. He encouraged the Schmitz candidacy not out of friendship or caprice but with calculation. The future mayor carried the German name of his old country father at a time when 101,000 San Franciscans had either been born in Germany or, like Schmitz himself, were of one German parent. Schmitz's mother was from County Clair when the city's politicized Irish and their children accounted for another 95,000. The total population did not exceed 343,000. Further reflection upon the religious composition of the ethnic metropolis reinforces the wisdom of Ruef's behavior. The year the earthquake and fire forced urban renewal upon the city, its churchgoing sector totaled 143,000. Of those, an incredible 116,000 knelt with Schmitz on Sundays in Catholic churches. Ruef's intuitive grasp of the yet undeveloped art of voting behavior analysis did not mislead him. In a three-cornered race the question should not have been, could Schmitz win, but rather, how could he possibly lose?[17]

So rapid a rise and fall for Abe Ruef was possible not because he was a political boss, but because he was not. During the interval of time a traditional boss would have needed to assemble a machine and wheel his horde of ballot stuffers into attack columns, Ruef's opportunity would have passed. Once on top, however, a boss's machine would have had staying power and resilience. Non-boss Ruef neither suffered from a machine's limitations, nor enjoyed its advantages.

Political bosses selected candidates with great care because, once in office, they became temporarily independent of the machine, particularly if they could be satisfied with only one term. More dangerous yet, if reform

Abe Ruef, "Boss" of San Francisco, confronts a Morning Call *photographer. The associates in the background probably are* not *gunmen.*

crested and appeared to be the wave of the future, a hastily chosen incumbent turned opportunist might spurn his benefactor for preferment with the reformers. The dangers inherent to a machine in this set of circumstances invited caution and encouraged the boss to advance men of patience, loyalty, and diligence—not independence. Circumspect bosses relied on their close personal knowledge of men through long term affiliations and family reputations. If a prospective candidate was a virtual unknown, the boss might advance him, provided a confidant or, better yet, the parish priest could say that the lad's deceased father or uncle had been a regular.[18]

Contacts such as these, normally available to a boss, were largely denied to Ruef. As an opportunist he was an interloper in union affairs, not an unfriendly one at first, but still hardly one of the boys. Also, he was religiously isolated. Politics and unionism, undoubtedly, were not discussed on the steps of Temple Israel with the degree of fervor which characterized similar exchanges after mass on St. Peter's steps in the heart of the Irish Mission district. Without a machine to aid him in the selection of candidates, Ruef chose some poorly and paid four years and seven months of his life as the price.

The critical Union Labor Party ticket which he formulated in 1905 demonstrated several points. First of all, as an impresario he relied upon his own intuitive insights into the public temper in order to judge Union Labor's popularity. Actual bosses enjoyed the steadier services of Tim Sullivan types who counted or pushed noses on a much more individual and tangible basis. Though highly perceptive in many cases, Ruef nonetheless remained a loner without institutional support or the valuable feedback of colleagues sharing his interests and his environment.

In preparing his slate for the city election of 1905, Ruef's osmotic perceptions erred. He expected that the only Union Labor candidate capable of victory was incumbent Mayor Schmitz. Ruef's selection of an 18 member slate for the board of supervisors was highly influenced by this personal conviction that few, at best, would win anyway. His dire forebodings, shared by those on whom he wished to confer the party's nomination, aggravated the ultimate selection of candidates. Had Ruef actually bossed a machine, he would have collected hard intelligence based upon more than personal intuition. Even if the tendency still ran toward pessimism, a machine, almost by definition, was able to generate aspiring candidates. And such candidates, if possessing no other qualities, normally were loyal to their boss. At the filing deadline, guided by the false presumption of defeat, Ruef filled the Union Labor ticket with candidates, some of whom he had never met and most of whom he really did not know. The great exception, of course, was Schmitz, whom Ruef hoped to have reelected over the fusion candidate of the Democratic and Republican parties.[19]

Ruef was surprised and even shocked when the entire Union Labor slate, including mayor, supervisors, and district attorney, captured their offices. Since the hastily chosen supervisors were not politicized men disciplined by a life of machine tending, Ruef never controlled them. These new officeholders were innocents in politics and, unlike their counterparts in eastern urban centers, they owed fealty and obedience to no political entity beyond themselves. The Union Labor Party was still new and temporary in 1905, and their relations with it had been cursory at most. The supervisors were not machine underlings who had been advanced gradually by a boss from one organizational position to the next after years of proven loyalty, servility, and learning. Excesses not withstanding, the political behavior of the boss's subordinates was conditioned by the pervasive and enduring machine. The lives and welfare of their own slum neighbors, as well as their own political future, depended upon their continuing orthodoxy and subordination to the machine. Since this was not the case in San Francisco, the Union Labor supervisors (in a sense Progressive reformers could not be expected to understand) were actually free individuals, unrestrained by party or faction. Unfortunately, their conscience was their guide.

San Francisco's graft prosecution succeeded in incarcerating Abe Ruef precisely because he was not a boss. Without a system to control the Union Labor supervisors, Ruef resorted to a series of bribes which were directly attached to individual votes cast by the supervisors on specific issues. Even though he was the most successful bidder for their votes he failed to purchase their fidelity. The best Ruef could do was to rent them temporarily.[20]

Because the bribe-taking supervisors were never part of a political machine, they suffered, in a sense, a deprivation. They had not been exposed from youth to a systematic political education. And, as a result, they were ignorant of the dangers of free-lance bribery—the mirage which beckoned them to disaster. With no machine and no boss, graft took no precedent over privateering. Without a machine to educate and screen, Ruef quickly advanced the wrong men into political office. Not only did he choose politically ignorant supervisors, he also chose a politically honest district attorney who, without personal loyalty to Ruef, fully cooperated with the reformers in prosecuting Ruef.

A basic assumption which energized many Progressive reformers was the belief that they were standing up for democracy by striking down the boss and his machine. In their minds the boss stood between the people and their government. As elsewhere, avid Bay Area expounders of this cliché lived in suburbia while trying to reform the city. To such reformers the public welfare was much too important to be left to professional politicians, not to mention alleged bosses and their henchmen. Rather, the way to govern cities was to place their affairs in the free hands of "capable businessmen" who would "discharge their duty . . . without regard to claims of political support." As for Ruef, reformers dismissed him as "a self-confessed criminal and boodler and scoundrel, the wretch of a thousand crimes. . . ."[21]

The San Francisco graft prosecutors shared this opinion of Ruef but also hoped, in the long run, to leapfrog over him and into the corporate world where the large franchise-related bribes had originated. Operating through the district attorney's office, they first ensnared the gullible supervisors who accepted bribes tendered by an agent provocateur whom the reformers had blackmailed into collaboration. Confessions incriminating Ruef were then extracted from these bribe-takers, in part, by offers of immunity. The supervisors admitted accepting larger payoffs from Ruef for their votes on the board of supervisors. But when Ruef declined to implicate corporate executives in any criminal activity and Schmitz denied any wrong doing whatever, the reformers found themselves unable to reach the next level of complicity. The prosecution, in time, did remove Schmitz from office and exiled Ruef to San Quentin prison, but failed to follow the bribes through Ruef to the sources.[22]

While all this transpired, the corrupt supervisors remained in office doing what the prosecutors directed. Upon request they even advanced, temporarily, one of their own discredited and chastised colleagues to Schmitz's vacated office. This move allowed the reformers more time to locate a respectable citizen and install him as mayor.[23]

This episode clearly illustrates how the prosecutors, by the ability to honor their immunity agreements at their own discretion, controlled that part of the government legally charged with the legislative function. And through this irregular state of affairs the prosecutors were able to name the man that these same supervisors obediently appointed as mayor, thus extending the power of the prosecution into the executive office itself. Unlike Ruef, the reformers did not pay the supervisors for these votes. The votes were delivered without even a haggle because, for the first time in their political lives, the Union Labor Party supervisors were bossed. By virtue of the immunity agreements, the prosecution controlled the board of supervisors and the mayor's office too. The prosecutors spoke; the supervisors jumped.[24]

The identity of the individual members of the graft prosecution, all prominent at the time, has been clearly fixed in history. William H. Langdon, Ruef's own uninformed choice for district attorney on the successful 1905 Union Labor Party ticket, provided official sanction for the reform faction. Fremont Older, editor of the *Bulletin*, contributed the original impetus for reform by his press crusade against Ruef and Schmitz. In time he achieved the substantial financial support of Rudolph Spreckels which enabled them to engage the nationally known corruption cracker, Francis J. Heney, and his sleuth, William J. Burns, along with a small army of privately retained detectives.[25]

More significant is that through the graft prosecution San Francisco became governed extra-legally and undemocratically by a private and narrowly based clique. Following the collapse of a scheme to ventilate their junto procedures, Spreckels, Heney, and Langdon installed Dr. Edward R. Taylor as mayor. They did this through their control of the corrupt supervisors, the appointing body. Only one of these three prosecutors, Langdon, held public office by virtue of an election. However, in all likelihood, his behavior was directed by his dynamic appointee, Heney, and by Spreckels, the private individual on whose bankroll the prosecution fed. By placing Taylor in the mayor's office, the triumvirate chose a man as unrepresentative of San Francisco as he was respectable and acceptable—to those who chose him. Taylor's record of service included the directorship of Cooper Medical College and the deanship of Hastings College of the Law. He practiced medicine and law and later served Stanford University as a trustee. Unlike James D. Phelan and Schmitz before him, and unlike Patrick McCarthy who succeeded him, Mayor Taylor was neither an ethnic nor a Catholic. In fact, the contemporary Catholic mind would have considered him even a poor Protestant since at age 69 the mayor read "joyous poems" on Sunday mornings while his decidedly more youthful bride attended services alone.[26]

San Francisco's most politicized ethnic minority was the Irish Catholic working class. Throughout the graft trials their militant weekly, *The Leader*, viciously assailed those associated with the prosecution. The Irish press objected to a district attorney's office financed by private capital and supported by a crusading newspaper which deprived the people of their rightful possession—democratically acquired political power. The editor, Father Peter C. Yorke, a labor partisan who had initially established *The Leader* to support unionism, objected to Taylor's all but complete elimination of Catholics from municipal appointments. In the November, 1909, election, ethnic-labor politicians joined Nob Hill capitalists to forge a new coalition against the prosecutors who were still trying to convict the bribe-giving executives. The day Irish-born Patrick McCarthy stood for election, the building trades council declared a holiday throughout San Francisco's construction industry. Union members and their friends turned out and, not trusting the prosecutors still in control of the mechanisms of government, they spent $2,500 on poll watchers. When anti-prosecution McCarthy won by a large margin, political power returned to its legitimate and traditional possessors by a thoroughly legal, democratic counter stroke.[27]

Two distinct notions have seriously interfered with perceptive interpretations of bossism versus reform in American urban history. First, and more general, is the appealing but false assumption that criminal behavior is never compatible with democracy. If a corrupt boss were somehow removed, the will of the people would triumph, so thought reformers. This fixation endured even though the fact that reformers came and went, while the objects of their reforms remained, suggested otherwise. After his studies of New York, Daniel P. Moynihan concluded that "the intermittent discovery that New York does have representative government leads to periodic reform movements."[28]

Second, poetic retreat, San Francisco's equivalent of moralizing, has been used to explain the rise and fall of reform. After all, was not San Francisco cosmopolitan and impish, famous for its Barbary Coast, French restaurants, splash, and color? But a retreat into impressionism is unsatisfactory. It can explain, or not explain (with equal dexterity) a Jewish sophisticate as a boss, or a swinging impresario, unincumbered by the inhibitions of a machine and its dullards waiting to be bossed. Such a non-interpretation may be congenial to professional San Franciscans but, in light of the rise of ethnic history as an area of scholarly interest, such a flight from realism is no longer needed.

Following the celebrated graft prosecutions, San Franciscans elected Eugene Schmitz to a series of terms on the board of supervisors (a city-wide and not a ward office), not because the city was impish, and not because of the advice of Lincoln Steffens that exposed grafters could be safely kept in office as "good dogs." San Franciscans elected and reelected Schmitz because, like them, he was an ethnic, and in the end a rather famous one at that. The question of guilt or innocence, after the initial shock wore off, simply was not relevant to old country parents who identified with their Eugene. Blood of their blood and flesh of their flesh, they preferred him to his prosecutors who, by kicking Schmitz, kicked them, the majority.[29]

NOTES

1. Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement 1890-1914* (New York, 1967), 157; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), 177, 181-6; Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., "Bosses, Machines, and Ethnic Groups," *The Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, 353 (May, 1964), 28-9; Arthur Mann, *La Guardia Comes To Power: 1933* (Philadelphia, 1965), 40, 46-59; Alexander B. Callow, Jr., *The Tweed Ring* (New York, 1969), pp. 262-3; William V. Shannon, "The Age of the Bosses," *American Heritage*, XX (June, 1969), 27-31.

2. Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 174-5; William L. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* (New York, 1963), 82-3; Alfred Connable and Edward Silberfarb, *Tigers of Tammany: Nine Men Who Ran New York* (New York, 1967), 198, 218; Callow, *Tweed*, 78; Lincoln Steffens, *Autobiography* (New York, 1931), 236.

3. Callow, *Tweed*, 166; Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*, 174-5.

4. Lyle W. Dorsett, *The Pendergast Machine* (New York, 1968), p. 87; Callow, *Tweed*, 102-5, 116-20.

5. Connable and Silberfarb, *Tigers of Tammany*, 211, 216-7, 182-3, 199; Callow, *Tweed*, 212-3.

6. Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City* (2d ed.; Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 224-8; Charles F. Murphy, "A Tribute to Plunkitt. . . ." in Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany*, xxvi.

7. "Chicago's Daley: How to Run a City," *Newsweek*, LXXVII (April 5, 1971), 82; Dorsett, *Pendergast Machine*, 121-4; Callow, *Tweed*, 208-11; Connable and Silberfarb, *Tigers of Tammany*, 211.

8. Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany*, 90-3; Callow, *Tweed*, 291; Humbert S. Nelli, "John Powers and the Italians: Politics in A Chicago Ward, 1896-1921," *The Journal of American History*, LVII (June, 1970), 74.

9. Nancy Joan Weiss, *Charles Francis Murphy, 1858-1924: Respectability and Responsibility in Tammany Politics* (Northampton, Mass., 1968), 5, 8-14; Dorsett, *Pendergast Machine*, 4-21; Riordon, *Plunkitt of Tammany*, 90; Matthew and Hannah Josephson, *Al Smith: Hero of the Cities* (Boston, 1969), 146-7; Thomas J. Fleming, '"I Am The Law",' *American Heritage*, XX (June, 1969), 33-4, 37.

10. Edward M. Levine, *The Irish and Irish Politicians* (Notre Dame, 1966), 101-7; Glazer and Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, 227-9.

11. Weiss, *Charles Francis Murphy*, 55-9; Josephson, *Al Smith*, 149-51.

12. San Francisco *Call*, Oct. 14, 1906, 29, 33; San Francisco *Examiner*, Oct. 3, 1907, 3; Chief Justice William H. Beatty to C. K. McClatchy in Sacramento *Bee*, April 29, 1908, 9; *The People v. Eugene E. Schmitz* (1907-08), 7 California Appellate Reports, 373; Verne A. Stadtmen, ed., *The Centennial Record of the University of California* (Berkeley, 1967), 137; San Francisco *Chronicle*, Jan. 5, 1903, 1; Jan. 12, 1908, 17; Abraham Ruef, "The Road I Traveled: An Autobiographic Account of my Career from University to Prison with an Intimate Recital of the Corrupt Alliance between Big Business and Politics in San Francisco," San Francisco *Bulletin*, July 15, 1912, 8; July 16, 8; July 29, 8; July 31, 10; Aug. 10, 13; *Bulletin*, Jan. 4, 1903, 25.

13. Ruef, "The Road I Traveled," *Bulletin*, June 10, 1912, 12; July 22, 8; *Bulletin*, Oct. 15, 1906, 6; *Call*, Oct. 14, 1906, 29.

14. In his memoirs Ruef wrote of bossism and machine government but mostly in the abstract, as a political scientist examining a national phenomenon. He disdained ballot stuffing. Ruef, "The Road I Traveled," *Bulletin*, June 18-20, 1912, each on 12.

15. Walton Bean, *Boss Ruef's San Francisco: The Story of The Union Labor Party, Big Business, And The Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley, 1968), viii, 20-7.

16. Robert E. L. Knight, *Industrial Relations in the San Francisco Bay Area, 1900-1918* (Berkeley, 1960), 59, 89, 98-9.

17. San Francisco *Leader*, Oct. 3, 1903, 8; United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: 1901), I, 738-9, 868, 876-7, 884-5, 892-3, 900-1, 904-5; United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1906* (Washington, 1910), pt. I, 299-300; James P. Walsh, "Regent Peter C. Yorke and the University of California, 1900-1912" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1970), 30-4.

18. Levine, *Irish and Irish Politicians*, 146-55; Callow, *Tweed*, 121-2; Mike Royko, "Hizzoner," *Playboy*, 18 (Mar., 1971), 165.

19. For the details of Ruef's candidate selection see Bean, *Ruef*, 61-3.

20. Ruef, "The Road I Traveled," *Bulletin*, July 29, 1912, 8; July 31, 10; Aug. 10, 13.

21. *Leader*, Feb. 1, 1908, 1; Berkeley *Daily Gazette*, Jan. 21, 1908, 1; Feb. 22, 4; Nov. 20, 7; Monroe E. Deutsch, ed., *The Abundant Life* (Berkeley, 1943), 307; Beverly L. Hodghead, "The General Features of the Berkeley Charter," a speech delivered to the League of California Municipalities, Sept. 21, 1909, 4, 7, Doe Library, University of California, Berkeley.

22. Steffens, *Autobiography*, 557; Steffens, "William J. Burns, Intriguer: The Keenest of Detectives and the Story of His Hardest Job," *American Magazine*, LXV (April, 1908), 617-20; Francis J. Heney, "Parts of the Story of the Prosecution," *The Liberator*, July 24, 1909, 3-4; H. M. Owens to San Francisco supervisors in *Bulletin*, July 27, 1907, 2; Text of supervisors' confessions to Grand Jury in *Call*, April 26, 1907, 17-22; Fremont Older, *My Own Story* (New York, 1926), 96-8.

23. Franklin Hichborn, *"The System," as Uncovered by the San Francisco Graft Prosecution* (San Francisco, 1915), 230-3, n., 249.

24. *Examiner*, July 30, 1907, 1, 2; *Bulletin*, July 27, 1907, 1, 2.

25. William H. Langdon, "The Story of the Great Struggle," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, XLIII (Aug., 1907), 440; Older, *My Own Story*, 80; Heney, "Parts of the Story," *The Liberator*, July 17, 1909, 3-4; Joseph J. Dwyer, "The Liberating of San Francisco: A Review of the Battle," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, XLIII (Aug., 1907), 442-4; Bean, *Ruef*, 40-57; Text of Older testimony at libel proceedings in *Bulletin*, March 17, 1908, 1, 2.

26. *Who's Who In America, 1908-1909* (Chicago, ?), 1860-1; *Who's Who In America, 1914-1915*, 2306-7; Steffens, a participant, referred to the San Francisco graft prosecution as "Rudolph Spreckels's" and failed even to mention Langdon, *Autobiography*, 552-60; Berkeley *Daily Gazette*, Feb. 15, 1908, 4.

27. *Leader*, Jan. 11, 1902, 1; Oct. 22, 1904, 8; June 22, 1907, 1; Jan. 11, 1908, 1; Mar. 14, 1908, 1; Jan. 16, 1909, 4; for a convenient summary view see Mar. 14, 1908, 4; Knight, *Industrial Relations*, 220. That Taylor was elected in his own right in 1907 is not incompatible with San Francisco's ethnic diversity as a key to understanding. The city's laboring ethnics were absorbing the Protestant ethic (which makes one wonder how exclusively Protestant the notion was or is). They worked hard, saved their money, and invested. They were surprised, shocked, and embarrassed by the disclosures of corruption. The longer the trials wore on and the greater the procedural excesses, then the more San Francisco's working-class ethnics reverted back to their original social, economic, and religious orientations. The opportunism of reform, like the opportunism of Ruef, had no staying power.

28. Moynihan, "When the Irish Ran New York," *The Reporter*, 24 (June 8, 1961), 32.

29. Bean, *Ruef*, vii, 315-6, 226-7. For the level to which misinterpretation can be driven by the journalistic approach to history abetted by imperceptive contemporary observation see Bruce Bliven, "The Boodling Boss and the Musical Mayor," *American Heritage*, XI (Dec., 1959), 8-11, 100-4.

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San Francisco 1846-1848: The Coming of the Land Speculator

On the morning of July 8, 1846, a foggy day most likely, the sleepy Mexican *pueblo* of Yerba Buena, later known as San Francisco, witnessed the hoisting of the American flag. When Capt. Montgomery of the United States sloop of war *Portsmouth* entered town without the least resistance on the part of its inhabitants, he was occupying an essentially Anglo-American settlement amidst Mexican territory. Its founder, William A. Richardson, was an Englishman, its first inhabitants, Jacob P. Leese and Nathan Spear, were natives of Nellistown (Ohio) and Boston respectively. These men, and a handful of fellow Americans and Europeans flocking together in the ensuing years, decided to settle here because this was the spot where the few merchantmen, hide ships and others, used to anchor. Thus Yerba Buena became the commercial center of Northern California—if a shabby place consisting of a few shanties and houses may be called a commercial center. Still, despite its insignificance in terms of volume of trade, Yerba Buena was the first community in California subsisting entirely on commerce, in a country whose economy was fundamentally agrarian and non-commercial.[1] Yerba Buena anticipated, on a very small scale, the transition from subsistence agriculture to commercial enterprise which was a general characteristic of California's economic life between the end of the Mexican rule and the beginning of the Gold Rush.

It is true that Yerba Buena's economic growth was greatly enhanced by the immigrants who followed the American flag in great numbers; but the basic principle of marketing goods did not change with their arrival. There appeared, however, a new and important article of commerce on the market that, in Mexican times, had not been considered a marketable commodity: land. And there appeared a new type of businessman: the land speculator.

Land speculation was possibly the most important and certainly the most interesting consequence of the American takeover. It is the purpose of this paper to present, with the aid of the real estate registers of the town,[2] a quantitative analysis of the phenomenon, and also to draw some general conclusions as to why land speculation was essentially linked to the American conquest of California and why, on a more general level, it was a common characteristic of the American westward expansion as a whole.

For the *Californios* soil held no special attraction. It was, like the sun and the stars, a most precious gift of nature; but since it was available in next to unlimited quantities, it was, to them, completely worthless as a trading article. In colonial California the problems was by no means the acquisition of land but much rather its cultivation. Accordingly, under the Mexican laws very large tracts of land were granted, sometimes up to 48,000 acres to one individual alone—but always with the provision that at least part of the land had to be improved by the grantee within one year. Moreover, the owner did not enjoy all the privileges ordinarily attached to property.[3] He was, for instance, not allowed to raise a mortgage on his grant, neither could he donate nor sell it. The prevention of land speculation was no more than a secondary effect of these clauses: their main purpose consisted in furthering the colonization of the country. This could only be brought about by granting land to persons who were not only willing but positively bound by law to personally take possession of their grant, to live on it, and improve it. The law, therefore, stipulated that only he who lived on his land could rightfully own it, which, of course, automatically excluded the possibility for one individual to own more than one unit of land. Also, in order better to secure the settlement of California with a population loyal to Mexico, land grants were—at least theoretically—made out to Mexicans by birth or to naturalized Mexican citizens exclusively. Naturalization implied the applicants' willingness to subject themselves to Mexican laws and customs and, above all, their adherence to the Roman Catholic faith. Many a good New England Puritan forsook his religion, not for a pottage of lentils but for a tract of land of some 50 square miles. Those who stubbornly clung to their religious convictions—like Nathan Spear of Yerba Buena—never held any legal title to land.[4]

All these provisions made in connection with the grants of *ranchos* analogously applied to the much smaller lots of Yerba Buena and other *pueblos*. One lot usually measured 50 by 50 varas (one vara corresponding to 33 inches) and was granted in return for a fee of $12.50. In addition to the restrictions already mentioned, the deeds stipulated that the lots had to be fenced in and built upon within one year, counted from the issue of the grant. Those who failed to erect a building in time were sometimes, upon petition, granted a prolongation of the term.[5]

In Mexican California, as elsewhere, laws seemed to be made in order to be circumvented. Few of the lots granted in Yerba Buena were actually fenced in, although all of them were improved inasmuch as the owners had built at least a shanty or some other kind of shelter that could be legally termed *casa*.[6] In practice the improvements were not dictated by law but by necessity. Buildings were a prerequisite for the successful trader who needed storage room, offices, and living quarters for himself and his employees. On the other hand, he had not much use for fences: he had no cattle to be kept within his lot, nor did his neighbors and fellow traders possess any stock to be kept out of his property. The paragraph requesting the *solares* to be fenced in actually reflects the basically agrarian concept of the law. According to Mexican definition, a *pueblo* was a community of small farmers (or rather gardeners) tilling and cultivating the lots they had been granted. Although the climate of Yerba Buena was singularly unsuited for the growing of almonds, peaches, and the like, and although the town was from the start an exclusively commercial community, the fence stipulation was faithfully copied in every single deed, thus bearing witness to the fact that mulish bureaucracy was thriving even in this remote corner of the world.

Contrary to the law, lots changed hands quite freely whenever the necessity arose. Strangely enough, the deeds of sale were often drawn up before, and witnessed by, the *alcalde* or mayor of Yerba Buena who, on those occasions, acted as notary public. If during the Mexican era of the town (1835-1846) no more than twelve lots changed hands it was obviously not because the inhabitants of that time abhorred illegal acts, but rather because there was no particular demand for real estate. In all, the authorities granted no more than 64 lots between 1835 and 1846, so that there remained plenty of vacant *solares* to satisfy the needs of all newcomers who could reasonably be expected to settle in town.[7] The lots that actually did change hands were sold not because of the real estate involved but rather because of the premises erected on the land. In 1841 the Hudson's Bay Company thus paid to Jacob P. Leese the sum of $4,600, and this primarily for the house he had built in 1838 and which had cost him, at that time, $4,892; the lot which the building had been erected on was, in itself, of little interest to the purchaser.[8]

The same Jacob P. Leese may be cited as a law offender in yet another connection: he was in possession of more than one lot.[9] There is something to be said in his defense, however; for one thing, he was granted his second lot by local authorities who did not seem to mind this kind of procedure, and furthermore, he was not the only inhabitant of Yerba Buena who indulged unpunished in his brand of unlawfulness. Provisions had been made by the authorities for the land along the shore to remain public property. When this usage fell into disregard Leese seized the opportunity and acquired a piece of land near the beach.[10] But clearly Leese's motive was neither land speculation nor investment in real estate. For him it was merely a matter of gaining a better location for his dealings with the ships anchoring off the shore. It was no inherent value of the land that could induce Leese and a few others to apply for more than one lot, for inherent value there was none.

TABLE I
Grants of Lots from July, 1846, to March, 1848.

DATE	MONTHLY INCREASE			TOTAL
	50 V.-SURVEY	100 V.-SURVEY	BEACH-LOTS	LOTS GRANTED
1846				
July				64
August				64
September				64
October	1			65
November	12			77
December	16			93
1847				
January	18	11		122
February	33	1		156
March	88	8		252
April	29	7		288
May	42	8		338
June	88	5		431
July	52	2		485
August	19			504
September	12	2	219*	637
October	36	6		779
November	10	3		792
December				792
1848				
January				792
February				792
March	52			844

* Beach-lots were sold from the end of July to December, 1847, most of them at an auction on September 20-23, 1847.

Source: Computed from Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws affecting the same* (San Francisco, 1852).

Circumstances changed almost immediately after the conquest of California by the United States. During the eleven years of Mexican supremacy 64 lots had been granted; within the first twenty months of United States administration the number of grants rose to 844 (see Table I). This increase is partly explained by the influx of settlers following in the wake of the United States invasion. Table II shows that, whereas in June, 1846, 150 people had been living in Yerba Buena, the town boasted more than five times that number of settlers in March, 1848. But the number of lots granted within the same period of time multiplied by a factor of thirteen. Still, comparing the number of lots (844) with the number of inhabitants

Table II
Population of Yerba Buena, 1842 - 1848

Age Groups	1842 Dec.	1846 June	1847 June	1848 March
Adult Male	17		180	575
Female	4		66	177
Children	5		129	60
Total	26	*c.* 150	375	812

Sources: Padron de San Francisco 1842, MS C-R 9, Bancroft Library; *California Star* (San Francisco), Aug. 28, 1847; *Ibid.*, March 18, 1848.

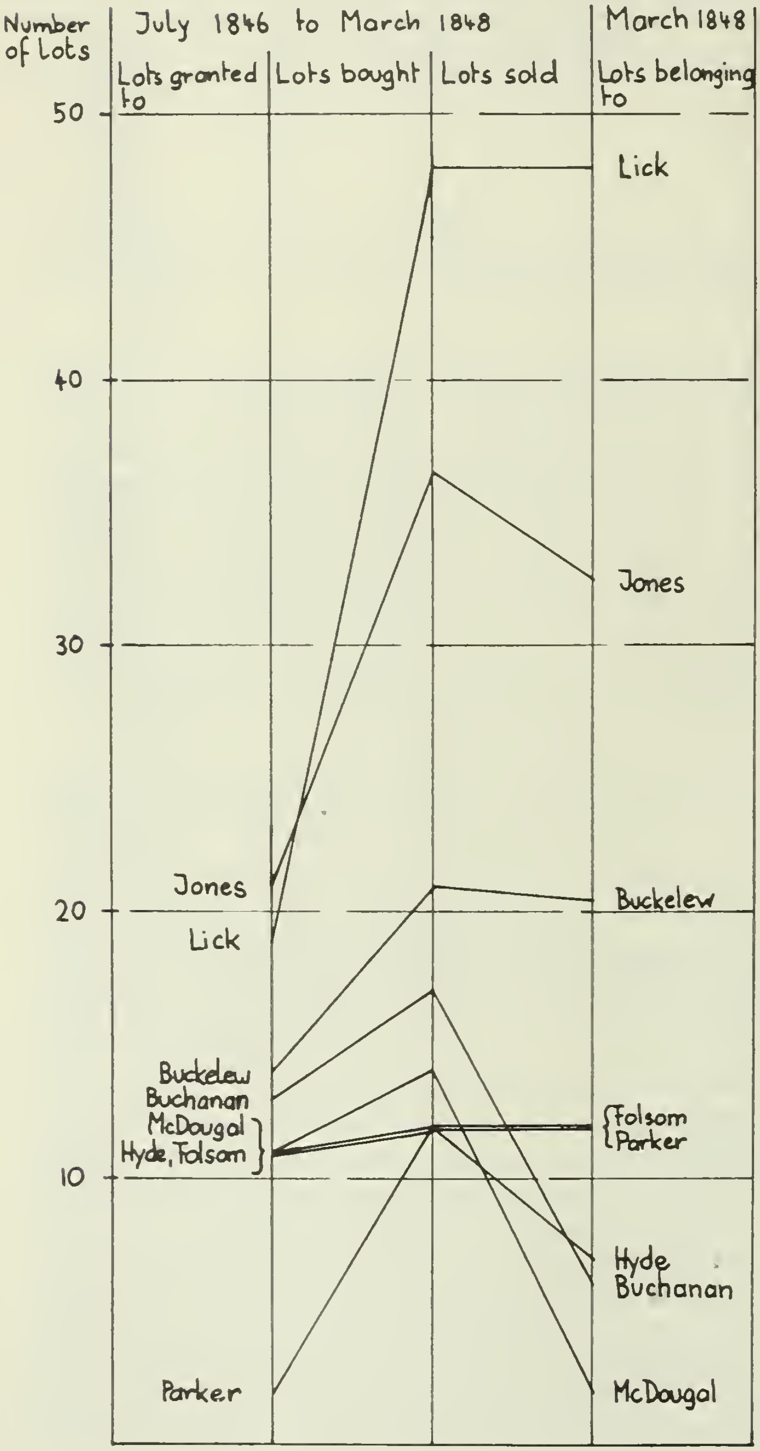
(812), it would seem, at first sight, that the basic principle of "one person, one lot" had been kept up fairly well. Upon closer examination this is quite evidently not true. From the sum total of 812 inhabitants the women and children have to be deducted. If the remaining 575 male adults had equally divided the 844 lots among themselves there would have resulted an average of nearly one lot and a half per person. Furthermore, a respectable number of the persons present at the local census were transients who had no intention to settle at Yerba Buena; as a rule they were not interested in purchasing land and have therefore, to a large extent, to be counted out as lot owners. The actual number of lot holders was thus even smaller and the average amount of lots per holder even greater.

From table I it appears that there were three different categories of lots. The 50-vara survey and the 100-vara survey both derived their names from the surface area of the single lots which comprised 50 by 50 varas (137½ by 137½ feet) and 100 by 100 varas (275 feet square) respectively; the beach- or water-lots were named after their location seawards of the high-water mark. The total number of grants mentioned above includes the grants of all three categories. In a more detailed discussion, however, it will be advisable to treat these three different kinds of lots separately. A very limited number of 50-vara lots had been laid out during the Mexican era, and they had amply satisfied the needs of the population. The 100-vara lots and the water-lots were surveyed and made available in 1847—another indication of the rapid expansion of the real estate business after the changing of the flag. Although the new surveys offered new possibilities for the prospective landowners, the activity was still centered on the 50-vara lots. This becomes quite evident when the total of lots granted (844) are broken down into 50-vara lots (572), 100-vara lots (53), and beach-lots (219). The most prominent category of lots, the 50-vara lots, the number of which was substantially enlarged by a survey of Jasper O'Farrell in 1847, will be discussed first.[11]

In order to circumvent the Mexican laws still in force after the American

Most prominent 50v.-lot-holders, 1846-1848

TABLE III



SOURCE:
Book A of Spanish Records; Miscellaneous Transfer Deeds, Book B 'O.K.'; Transfers of Deeds A; Book B of Transfer Deeds. (MSS in San Francisco County Archives) Wheeler, *op.cit.*, schedule A.

conquest, paupers, vagabonds, and transients were frequently used as dummies by land speculators who encouraged them to petition for lots, promising to buy the land at an advance price immediately after the issue of the grant. Out of the 42 50-vara lots granted in May, 1847, 22 were resold within ten days or less—a fact that clearly demonstrates the wide use of this scheme; four of these lots changed hands even before the formal deeds had been made out.[12] William Squire Clark, after whom Clark's Point was named, enlarges in his *Recollections of a Pioneer* on this subject and also points out that the local authorities could not possibly fail to notice what was going on sooner or later.[13] But the town council, whose members were among the most active land speculators, were far from prohibiting such pro forma grants; instead, they cancelled the provision of "one person one lot," thus making it possible for petitioners legally to be granted several lots.[14]

There can be no doubt that the Mexican system, based upon a completely different theory of colonization and exploitation, was antiquated and needed revision. But a short sighted policy it must be called to cancel one paragraph of the law without adjusting the others accordingly. By permitting speculators to hold more than one lot the town council implicitly confirmed that the distribution of real estate depended on the financial means of the individual and his desire to invest in landed property exclusively. Purchasing and selling lots thus became part of the new competitive profit system. The logical conclusion would have been for the town to join in and take advantage of the new situation—in other words, to sell the lots still remaining in its possession in line with market conditions to the highest bidder. This was not done; the lots were granted in return for the same old nominal fee of $12.50, as if they still were, as in Mexican times, a special bonus for those willing to bear the hardships involved in colonizing a remote and desolate country.[15] As it was, the ordinance of the town council worked entirely for the benefit of the land speculators. Most active of these was Elbert P. Jones, himself a member of the council, who took out 21 deeds in his name; he was closely followed by James Lick, who owned 19 grants (see table III). Fifteen other individuals or partnerships were granted five lots or more each: together they were granted 179 lots, or 31% of the 572 50-vara lots ever granted from the founding of the *pueblo* in 1835 up to March, 1848. There were two distinctive groups among the prominent land speculators. The short-term speculators applied for lots and sold them almost immediately after the issue of the grants, as did John Buchanan, who was granted 14 lots, of which, by March, 1848, he retained no more than six (see table III). Others, such as James Lick, were quietly accumulating lot after lot, increasing their property not only by taking out grants as often as possible but also by buying lots whenever they had an opportunity to do so (see table III).

Before embarking upon a more detailed discussion of the practices of the land speculators, it is desirable to consider the distribution of the water-lots and the 100-vara lots mentioned above. In the O'Farrell survey, Market Street is the southern boundary of the original 50-vara section; it meets the roads between the 50-vara lots at an angle of 45 degrees. In the same survey Market Street represents the northern boundary of a rectangular grid that divides the land into blocks containing six lots of 100 varas square. The same method of granting land used for the 50-vara lots were adopted here, except that the fees amounted to \$25 instead of \$12.50. As the 100-vara section was at that time situated well beyond the center of the town, these lots were in no great demand. The first of them was given away on January 14, 1847, and no more than 53 100-vara lots were granted up to the end of March, 1848.

As to the water- or beach-lots things were quite different. In the first Mexican survey of the *pueblo*, in 1835, a strip of land along the shore was set aside for public use. But this provision was not enforced for any considerable period of time. The local authorities yielded to the pressure of the merchants, who wished to establish themselves as near the shore as possible. By the end of the Mexican rule over Yerba Buena almost all the lots along Montgomery Street, which at that time ran along the shore, lay in the hands of private persons.[16] There remained the extensive mudflats seawards of the highwater mark. But this land, regularly flooded at high tide, was of no use unless raised by depositing huge masses of earth. So far there had been no need to go to such expense. After the American conquest, however, the demand for real estate increased constantly, and it was most conspicuous in the center of activity—around the port; it thus seemed worthwhile to take the necessary steps. The *alcalde* ordered the mudflats to be surveyed and divided into lots of 16 2/3 by 50 varas. The layout was in line with the adjoining 50-vara survey; the east-west oriented streets ran on into the bay and, together with the streets lined out parallel to Montgomery Street, they cut the whole section into square blocks, each block containing twelve lots. From the very beginning these water-lots were not granted upon petition but sold at current prices, most of them at the auction held from September 20 to September 23, 1847.[17] The firm of Mellus & Howard held 31 water-lots, and William Leidesdorff, a trader as well, owned 30 (see table IV). Their concentration on real estate along the waterfront is emphasized by the fact that both Mellus & Howard and Leidesdorff possessed comparatively few other lots. Thus they do not appear in table III, where the most important 50-vara lot holders are listed, and they barely make the top six of table IV; but their possession of a great number of beach-lots compensates their otherwise modest investments in real estate. On the other hand, it is equally suggestive that even the most prominent short-term speculators and land grant jugglers, such as John C.

TABLE IV
Biggest Lot Owners, March, 1848.

NAME	CATEGORY OF LOTS			TOTAL	IN PER CENT OF ALL LOTS GRANTED (844)
	50V.	WATER	100V.		
James Lick	48	15	—	63	7.46
Elbert Jones	32	19	—	51	6.04
Wm. Leidesdorff	11	30	—	41	4.86
Warner & Folsom	12	21	4	37	4.38
Mellus & Howard	2	31	3	36	4.27
B. Buckelew	20	4	—	24	2.84
Total	125	120	7	252	29.85

Source: Book A of Spanish Records; Miscellaneous Transfer Deeds, Book B 'O.K.'; Transfers of Deeds A; Book B of Transfer Deeds, (MSS in San Francisco County Archives); Wheeler, *Land Titles,* schedules A, D, F.

Buchanan. did not enter the race for water-lots. Their basic business was, apparently, to profit from the difference between the fees they paid for their grants and the current prices of lots resold on the market. As the beach-lots were not granted for a fixed price or fee but sold at auction (that is to say at market prices), their business methods did not work here. If we define speculation as "acting today in anticipation of a future development" these land grant jugglers were, strictly speaking, not speculators at all. Their methods were effective under very special and very narrowly defined circumstances only. John C. Buchanan's prominence in the real estate business is thus explained by his position as the *alcalde*'s clerk. Similarly the *alcalde*, George Hyde, carried on a petty business, granting lots to himself and selling them at current market prices to persons turning up in his office.

The true speculator, on the other hand, was planning far ahead, his basic assumption being that real estate in Yerba Buena would grow in value. The soundness of this speculation reveals itself even within the short period of twenty months to which this paper is restricted. To illustrate: in July 1847, Benjamin Lippincott bought lot No. 238 from John C. Buchanan for the sum of $100, and in February, 1848, Lippincott resold this same lot to James Lick for $300.[15] This represented a gain of 200% within seven months or an interest of more than 350% per annum. Similar data in addition to those furnished here will be gathered from table V. Turning to this table the reader will realize that quite a number of lots experienced an increase in value considerably more spectacular than the example chosen above; lot No. 208, for instance, was resold at an advance of more than 10,000% per annum.

Prices of 50v.-Lots, Sept. 1846-March 1848

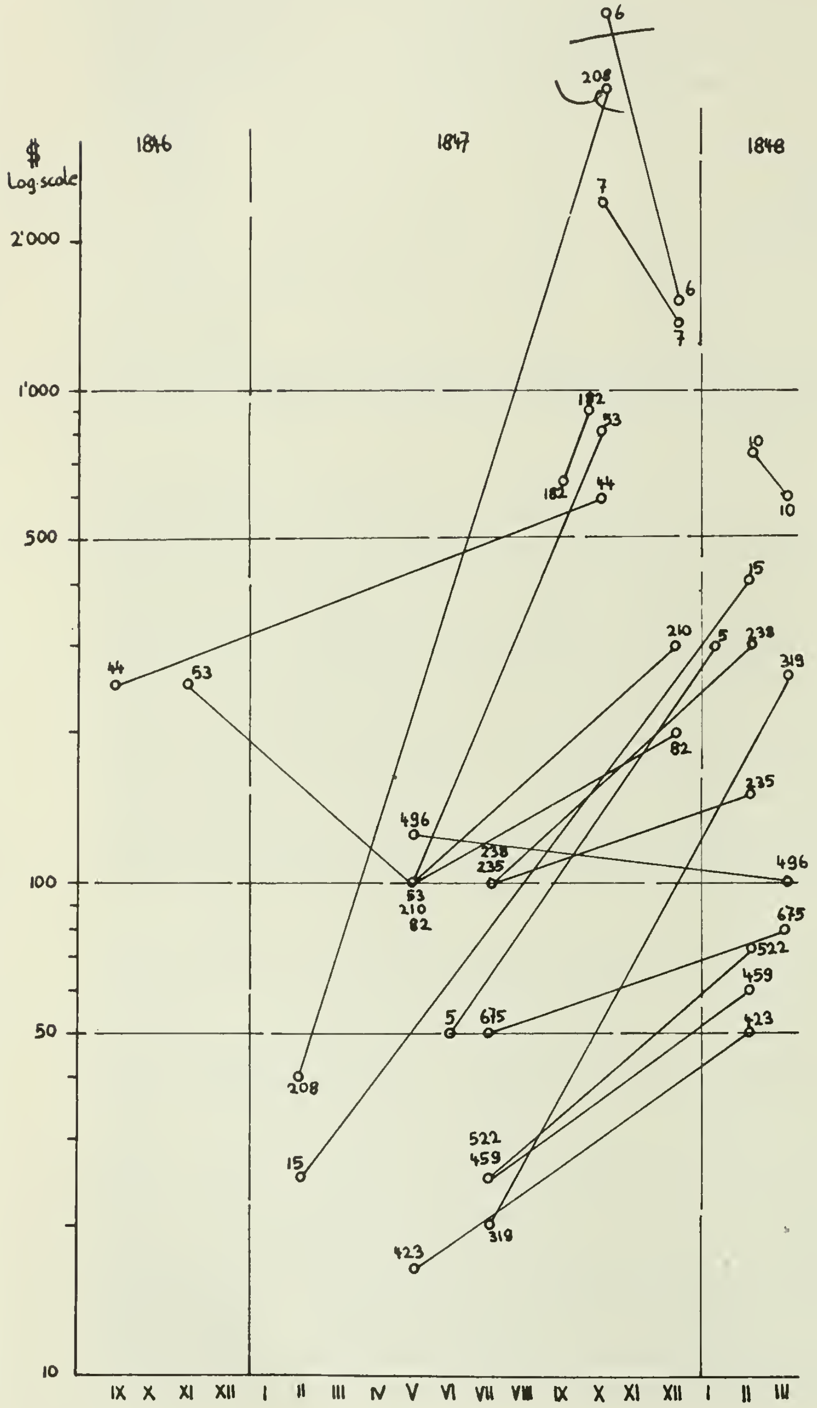
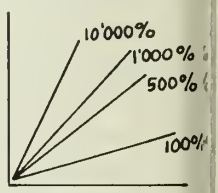


TABLE
V

Comparative scal



Improvements of
100%
500%
1000%
10000%
within one year
correspond to the above angles

SOURCE:
Book A of Spanish Records; Transfers of Deeds A; Book B of Transfer Deeds, (MSS in San Francisco County Archives).

The first price of the lots listed in table V is in every case higher than the original granting fee of $12.50. This is important; it means that only lots changing hands for the second time at least are being taken account. To include lots changing hands for the first time would clearly falsify the picture of the market situation. The increment value would in such cases have to be based on the granting fees and these, as explained above, did not reflect and were not influenced by the free market.

Table V, yielding the difference of price levels in function of time, is complemented by table VI, which lists the differences of price levels according to the geographical situation of the lots at a given time (February/March, 1848). The old town center around the *plaza*, now Portsmouth Square, was confirmed by the Yankee land speculator in hard cash. In this section of town, lots fetched prices ranging between $1,000 and $2,500. Here the prominent trading firms of Mellus & Howard, William H. Davis, and others had established themselves. In Vioget's tavern and the more fashionable City Hotel of William Leidesdorff the local notables gathered for a spot of whiskey or a round of billiards and, of course, these were also the places where they would learn and exchange the latest news. The *alcalde* had his office on the *plaza*, and so had the town surveyor and many other persons of rank. Here the first wharf reaching out into the bay was being constructed.[19] Land in this part of town was so much sought after and consequently grew so scarce that only fractions of lots were traded. All figures in table VI are nevertheless based upon the unit of undivided lots so as to make them comparable with one another. The value of the lot on the corner of Pacific and Montgomery Streets, listed at $2,500, has accordingly been computed by multiplying by five the actual selling price of $500 for one fifth of the lot. The same procedure was used in table V whenever the necessity arose. Water-lots are listed on the basis of undivided lots as well. But it has to be kept in mind that the surface of beach-lots amounted to no more than one third of the surface of 50-vara lots: their prices as put down in table VI have therefore to be multiplied by three if prices for water-lots are to be compared with those for ordinary town-lots.

Real estate values decreased rapidly outside the immediate center of town. Two blocks to the north of the *plaza* lots were traded for about one third of the top prices paid in the center; three blocks off the center of town prices dropped to about one eighth or one tenth. Still farther away from the *plaza* the lots sold for sums ranging between $100 and $200, always excepting the lots situated in the immediate neighborhood of the shore; those fetched high prices even when they were relatively far off the center. Lots situated beyond the section of town shown in table VI generally sold for some $50 or $70. Prices for water-lots seem to follow a similar pattern: the farther away from the *plaza*, the less expensive they were. Here, however, prices were not determined by their distance from the central area alone but also by their proximity to the shore. Water-lots near the shore were considered more valuable; they could, with comparatively little trouble, be filled up with earth and thus be put to use.

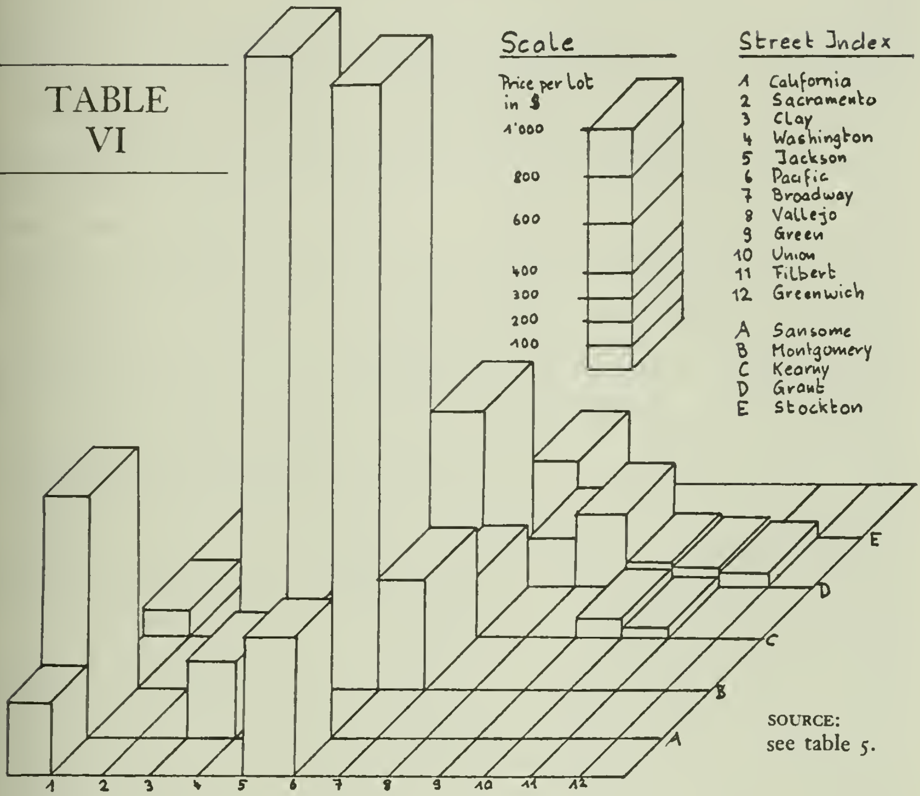
On the relatively small and ever-changing market, prices depended to a great extent on the ability of the seller and the know-how of the buyer. An interesting case in point is that of two adjoining lots situated on Greenwich Street between Taylor and Mason Streets. One of them sold for $50 and the other for $100. Jasper O'Farrell was involved in both transfers, and both were executed in March, 1848. He bought the $50 lot from a certain James Black and sold at the same time the other one for $100 to James Lick.[20] James Black was living in San Rafael, whereas James Lick had the reputation of being the shrewdest of all land speculators around town. We may thus safely conclude the prevailing price for real estate in that part of town to be $100 and that James Black was the loser in the deal. The fact that prices largely depended upon the cleverness of the speculator is once again illustrated in table V, lot No. 53. In November 1846 it was valued at $250. James Watmough had bought it from William Leidesdorff and had to dispose of it, possibly because of illiquidity, at a serious loss. Roger Price, to whom the lot was transferred at a price of $100, was more fortunate—or rather more experienced in business matters. In October, 1847, he sold half of the lot for $410 to William Pettet.[21] Similarly, the few losses occurring in the sale of lots and showing in table V are all to be attributed to the inexperience of the sellers and not to any slack in the real estate business.

The soaring prices for real estate evident from tables V and VI reflect the massive and ever-increasing demand for lots; they do not, however, explain the underlying reasons for this trend. While the population of California doubled[22] during the span of time in question, Yerba Buena's population grew at a much faster rate than the California average. Expressed in figures: it multiplied by five whereas the state's population as a whole merely multiplied by two (see table II).

It is easy to see why the immigrants favoured Yerba Buena. The commercial center of Northern California was the place to be, not only for importers and exporters of goods, for retailers, and for a host of other people connected with trade, but also for the craftsmen who had to market the products they manufactured. They in turn created new demands for foodstuff, clothing, building, etc., so that layer upon layer of related professions was added to the original nucleus. Thus took shape the structure of a mercantile society that, because of the interdependence of the different branches of trade, needed to live in close geographical connection. These urban agglomerations were the fields of action for the land speculators.

TABLE VI

Value of Real-Estate, March 1848



SOURCE:
see table 5.

Only when the demand for land is focused on a limited territory, do supply and demand get into an economically interesting relation.

In California this socio-economic structure was new and essentially American. The Spanish-Mexican *ranchos* were not dependent upon each other. Each of these agricultural production units formed a closed circuit of production and consumption. Mexican *ranchos*, therefore, were not restricted to any special area except, naturally, that the soil had to be fertile. Hence they were scattered all along the coast. There existed, to be sure, in Spanish and Mexican California a few settlements which would colloquially be called towns. These *pueblos* were not market places but self-sufficient agricultural production centers on a co-operative basis. As a matter of fact, they were a remainder of the original Spanish colonial policy which for obvious reasons had deemed it necessary to concentrate its sparse available forces on certain places and had therefore been extremely reticent in allowing colonists to settle separately and independently from each other.[23] As the *pueblos* were instituted by the political authorities for political and military reasons, the land question, too, was a political matter, regulated not according to economic but to strictly political needs. Not before towns and cities became the central points of a market oriented economic system were the basic prerequisites for land speculation fulfilled. And this economic system was introduced into California by the Americans; consequently the land speculator became by necessity a typically American figure and may well be regarded as the herald of new times.

It has been mentioned above that, by virtue of its ethnic structure and its economic concept, Yerba Buena was an Anglo-American settlement even in Mexican times. But it has also been pointed out that here, too, land speculation became attractive only after the American conquest. The reason for this is obvious. In Mexican times the new economic system was quite insignificant in comparison to the number of *ranchos* and other agricultural production units based on self-sufficiency; it could therefore not possibly attract enough people who would, in the neighborhood of the port, have created a population density that would have made land speculation interesting. But there is a further factor to be taken into consideration. For all political observers it had been evident for some time that sooner or later California must become part of the United States, and the American merchants in California were looking forward to this event with eager expectation. Why then did they not get hold of real estate in anticipation of the American conquest? The answer to this is, plainly and simply, that—with very few exceptions—they were not interested in this kind of business, neither before nor after 1846. It is significant that none of the early businessmen of Yerba Buena appears on the list of the most important lot owners (table IV). In vain do we look for William H. Davis, Jean-Jacques Vioget, Jacob P. Leese, and others, who all belonged to the "high society" of Mexican Yerba Buena. Restless adventurers most of them, they had come to California without a penny in their pockets, had adjusted to the easy-going life of the Mexican province, but had still managed to make a few dollars here and there; the one-eyed kings among the blind. James Lick, on the other hand, who heads table IV, did not set foot on Californian soil until January, 1848, when he arrived with the firm intention of investing in real estate the small fortune he had amassed in other parts of the world. By the end of March of the same year he owned 7.46% of all the lots in town. Another land speculator, William S. Clark, summed up his views on business affairs as follows: "When I resolved to go to California and locate on the Bay of San Francisco I lost at least six months' time and sacrificed considerable in closing up my business affairs; I was six months on the road and six months here before realizing anything; there was 18 months of the best part of my life gone. I had better never have started for California if I did not avail myself of every opportunity that presented itself to make up for the lost time and compensate for the hardships endured in making the trip." Business then, and business alone, was his motive when he emigrated to

California. In plain contrast to this attitude the pioneers arriving before 1846 had chosen this Mexican province for their home because they liked to live here. They had identified themselves with the Mexican way of life to the extent of calling the newcomers whose rapid pace they were unable to keep up with by the strongest invective they had at hand: damned Yankees.

Many have wondered why one of the most prominent pioneers, John A. Sutter, could lose his empire in the Sacramento Valley. Many a subtle and even hair-splitting argument has been advanced, but it has hardly ever been taken into consideration that Sutter's fate was no exception, that on the contrary he shared it with most of his fellow pioneers. It would be an interesting but difficult and altogether different task to try and explain why—firmly rooted in California business life as they were—they succumbed to the flood of newcomers. Suffice it here to say that the land speculator was not only the herald of the new American economy but at the same time the exponent of a new generation of pioneers who were going to lead California from its Golden Age to its Age of Gold.

After the changing of the flag, towns began to sprout everywhere. The act of founding a town was not necessarily dictated by economic need but would often depend on the initiative of some land speculator who hoped to attract enough people to make his scheme work. But the future development of a new town, and even its bare survival, depended on whether it was of use to the regional or national economy. Wherever two new towns were laid out in close proximity to one another it was a matter of cutthroat competition until one of them got the upper hand and absorbed the vital energies still left in the other. Thus Sacramento has become the capital of California whereas Sutterville, founded at about the same time, has completely disappeared, although we might do it the honor of calling it a kind of suburb of the former.

For some time the new town of Francisca was challenging the position of Yerba Buena. The town's name was allegedly chosen in honor of the wife of General Vallejo on whose land the settlement was laid out. The initiator of the idea was—once again—a Yankee, Robert G. Semple, and Thos. O. Larkin, former United States consul in California, had a hand in it as well. By June, 1847, the town was laid out, the first house was erected in August, and by March, 1848, some 200 lots were sold.[24] Francisca was intended to become the central port of San Francisco Bay and thus the direct rival of Yerba Buena. Francisca was in a position to advance powerful arguments: it was situated at the head of ship navigation and unlike Yerba Buena, which was cut off from the rest of the country, Francisca was centrally situated, halfway between the Golden Gate and the fertile Central Valley. A local newspaper summed up the situation in the following words: "Francisca at the head of the shipping must become more important than Yerba Buena, as Baltimore has become more important than Norfolk."[25] Landowners in

Yerba Buena grew alarmed and induced the authorities of the town to change the name of Yerba Buena into San Francisco, thus linking the still unknown town with the name of the world-renowned Bay of San Francisco. As in Mexican times Yerba Buena had been part of the *presidio* and *pueblo de San Francisco de Asís*, the name was not unfamiliar and therefore readily accepted. It thus happened that Francisca, whose founders had also hoped for the name of the town to be associated with "Bay of San Francisco," was left out in the cold and had to change its name into Benicia so as to evade confusion.[26]

If we are to believe Bancroft, this cunning scheme of the land speculators of Yerba Buena—or rather San Francisco—thwarted all hopes of Francisca/Benicia from the very start. Whether this be true or not, it is self-evident that the landowners of San Francisco fought with every means to keep their town—and their prices—high. Hubert H. Bancroft, shivering in the "cold, bleak, circumscribed, sand-blown and fog-soaked city of San Francisco" instead of being able to live comfortably in the sunny climate of Benicia, bitterly resented their victory: "And for it let the names of those who thwarted the purposes of better men be anathemized. I regard it as a base act, beside which ordinary infamy were tame, an act imposing endless expense, inconvenience, discomfort, and disease upon millions of men for probably thousands of years, that two or three persons happening to possess the power should for petty and personal motives have so treated California, her present generation and her posterity."[27] Bancroft's furious statement that the location of San Francisco was "about as ill-chosen as possible" may be true. But it is also true, and from an historical point of view much more relevant, that San Francisco was, despite its shortcomings, more vigorous than its rival.

The fact that success or failure of a new town was not determined by entirely rational motives was in fact the most serious problem for the speculator. When Semple sold his land in San Francisco and invested his money in Benicia he was backing the wrong horse. Even as shrewd an investor as Thomas O. Larkin, co-founder of Benicia, was mistaken in his speculations as to the future of the town.

It has here been demonstrated that the founding of new towns in general as well as land speculation in Yerba Buena in particular coincided with the American acquisition of California; it has furthermore been suggested that this coincidence was not accidental, that it was basically linked to a new economic concept which had been introduced by the Americans into this remote part of the world. In the transition period from subsistence to commercial agriculture towns began to develop, serving as trading centers for agricultural products. On this stage the land speculator, protagonist of a new drama, made his appearance. If this interpretation be true it will not only apply to San Francisco—or to California as a whole—but indeed to all places where, in its westward course, the drive of American economy was confronted with a pleasant but inefficient pastoral society whose static economy, based on self-sufficience, had to yield to the dynamism of "Yankee enterprise." If we concede that the success of the American westward expansion rested less on political or military than on economic superiority, then the land speculator rather than the stereotyped pioneer may well be regarded as a symbol of what is commonly called "Manifest Destiny."

NOTES

1. The most comprehensive work on the early development of San Francisco is Zoeth Skinner Eldredge, *The Beginnings of San Francisco from the Expeditions of 1774 to the City Charter of 1850* (2 vols.; San Francisco, 1912).

2. The real estate registers which, as far as I can see, have never been used extensively for historical research, although they contain a wealth of information, are to be found in the San Francisco County Archives.

3. William C. Jones, *Report on the Subject of Land Titles* (Washington, 1850), quotes in full the Mexican laws concerning land grants. An example of a deed for a ranch may be found in Spanish Records B, San Francisco County Archives, 1.

4. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco, 1884-1890), Appendix "Register of Pioneer Inhabitants."

5. Book A of Spanish Records, San Francisco County Archives, 249, 304; and Spanish Records B, San Francisco County Archives, 7, 10.

6. The *View of San Francisco in the Spring of 1847* (Bosqui Engraving Company, San Francisco, 1847), clearly shows that only a few lots were actually fenced in.

7. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco and the Laws affecting the same* (San Francisco, 1852), schedule A.

8. Deed of sale in Book A of Spanish Records, San Francisco County Archives, 358 ff. The original building costs may be gathered from Leese's account book, MS C-B 632, Bancroft Library.

9. Wheeler, *Land Titles.*

10. Eldredge, *Beginnings of San Francisco,* 504, reproduces Richardson's plan of Yerba Buena in 1835. There, a strip of land along the shore is marked: "Tierra plana pa. oficina del gobierno."

11. The O'Farrell survey of 1847 superseded the Bartlett map (1846) and the Hinckley map (1844) which were extensions of the original Vioget survey of 1839. These surveys are discussed in Thomas P. Burns, "Centennial of the City of San Francisco" (Typescript in the Bancroft Library).

12. Transfers of Deeds A, 95-100, 106, 107, 119, 129, 172, 173, 230; and Book B of Transfer Deeds, 96, 97, 158 (both in the San Francisco County Archives).

13. MS C-D 245:1, Bancroft Library, 9.

14. *California Star* (San Francisco), Oct. 16, 1847.

15. Only after the most attractive lots in the center of town were in private hands was the grant system abandoned and further lots sold at public auction. At the first auction in March, 1848, the lots fetched an average price of $22.50. *Californian* (San Francisco), March 8, 1848.

16. See note 10, and Vioget's map, MS c912:S19:1839, California State Library, Sacramento.

17. Wheeler, *Land Titles*, schedule F.

18. Transfers of Deeds A, 186, and Book B of Transfer Deeds, 18 (both San Francisco County Archives).

19. Edward C. Kemble, *Yerba Buena 1846* (San Francisco, 1935, first published in the *Sacramento Daily Union*, Aug. 26, Sept. 16, and Oct. 14, 1871), 8 ff.

20. One might allow for a slightly higher value of the lot situated in the corner, and, in fact, O'Farrell had bought this lot in May, 1847, from the same James Black for $60 (instead of $50). The better situation, however, does not justify an increase in value of 100 per cent over the adjoining lot. Book B of Transfer Deeds, San Francisco County Archives, 95, 96, 97, 107.

21. Transfers of Deeds, A, San Francisco County Archives, 23, 181, 238.

22. The non-Indian population of California amounted to about 7,500 in 1846 and to about 14,000 in 1848. Jessie Francis, "An Economic and Social History of Mexican California" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1936), 153-157.

23. Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa outlines the Spanish system of colonization in his famous *reglamento* of 1773. Quoted in English translation in Jones, *Report*, 51.

24. For the history of Francisca/Benicia see: Peter Th. Conmy, *Benicia, Intended Metropolis* (San Francisco, 1958), also Jacqueline McCart Woodruff, *Benicia, the Promise of California* (Vallejo, Calif., 1947).

25. *Californian* (San Francisco), June 19, 1847.

26. Frank Soulé *et al.*, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), 193.

27. Hubert H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), 732 f.

The Square-toed Packets of San Francisco Bay

by Roger Olmsted

Among the more lovable and eccentric of San Francisco's contributions to the history of technology was the scow schooner. Like steam beer and the cable car, the scow was a minor civic institution. It was also one of the more unusual types of local sailing craft developed in the United States during the nineteenth century. Whether viewed in the light of nineteenth century prejudices or those of our own times, these unlikely craft do not suit preconceptions of what a boat should look like. The idea expressed in the design, as in the case of the cable car, seems too simple to work.

Yet the scow schooner was a thoroughly effective and practical vessel for the transport of bulk cargoes about San Francisco Bay and its tributaries. A fifty or

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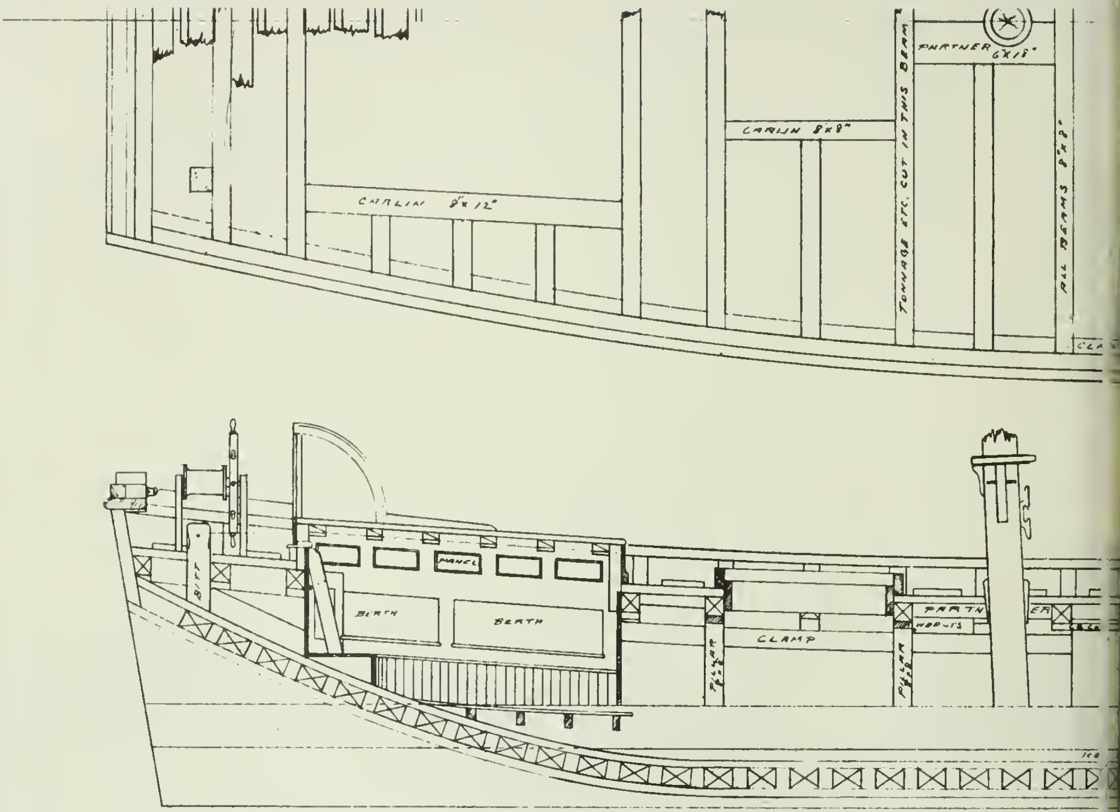
sixty ton scow could lift as much as a hundred tons of hay, brick, grain, sand, or lumber—to mention some of the more common goods that they carried. Their broad and unobstructed decks and great stability allowed stowage of most of their load topside, facilitating loading and unloading, while their flat bottoms allowed them to lie conveniently on the mud at low tide in the tiny estuaries among their ports of call. Scows were cheap to build and to operate. While these qualities are obvious enough, one would expect a craft of such description to go about at the end of a towline. But the scows went about by themselves, and the sight of a square sailboat beating smartly to windward, its helmsman standing on an upper rung of a long ladder in order to see over the haystack on deck, seemed almost as strange a hundred years ago as it would today.

The scow schooners of San Francisco were handy sailing craft. When a seaman described a vessel as "handy," he meant that it possessed a combination of desirable qualities: that it was easy to work, handled well under different conditions of wind and water, tacked to windward smartly, and maneuvered well in close quarters. Handiness implied respectable performance, but not necessarily speed. The scow type of hull is capable of development into a craft of great speed, but the San Francisco scow schooners were much too heavily built and the upward curve of their run (the after part of the bottom) was too abrupt and steep for them to be driven faster than a conventional hull of the same size. That the scows were reasonably fast was shown in the Fourth of July workboat regattas sponsored by the Master Mariners' Benevolent Association during the 1870's and '80's. The 110-foot scow sloop *P. M. Randall* was "the boat to beat" in the early races; in the 1870 regatta she placed first in the whole fleet, beating several smart (though smaller) schooners of conventional design. In the last of the Master Mariners' regattas, in 1891, the 69-foot scow schooner *Nettie* lost only eight minutes in a three-hour race to the *Azalene*, a handsome schooner yacht nearly as long and carrying at least as much sail.

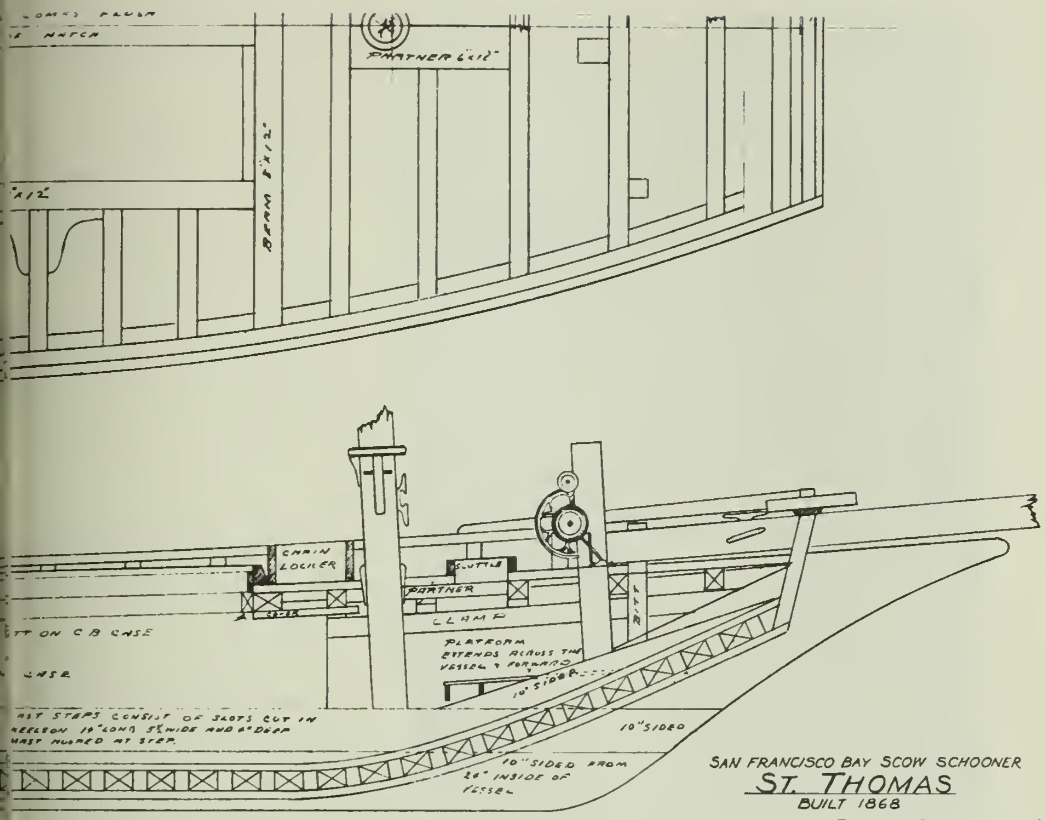
Admittedly the *Nettie* was fast for a scow. Her ends were carried out further and were nipped in more sharply than was usual. J. S. Nichols, builder of the *Nettie*, *Albertine*, and many other scows, thought narrow ends, together with placement of the greatest beam abaft of amidships, determined the best form of the scow. He was probably right. On the other hand, William Munder, the most prolific of the scow builders, thought that the greatest beam should be well forward, and the stern narrower than the bow, basing his theory upon the design of fast-swimming fish. His observation was of dubious utility, but his scows sailed well enough.

An important variation in the scow type involved construction as well as form. The usual San Francisco scow was planked fore-and-aft on the bottom, unlike scow types that appeared in other parts of the country. The fore-and-aft planking required frames and floors, as in the construction of conventional vessels. Because the vessel was framed, it was little trouble to give considerable


CARLIN 8"x12"
CARLIN 8"x8"
PARTNER 6x18"
TONNAGE ETC. CUT IN THIS BEAM
ALL BEAMS 8"x8"
BITT
PANEL
BERTH
BERTH
CLAMP
PILLAR
PILLAR
PARTN
ER

shape to the sides; it was even possible to round the bilges and to terminate the forward sections with a sharp bow. A few such improved scows were built, though the extra cost of construction was not justified by enough improvement in performance to undermine the popularity of the plain scow. The design of a cross-planked scow, quite a few of which were built around San Francisco Bay, was a different matter. Cross-planking the bottom did away with the need for athwartship floor timbers, but required a heavy chine and thick, strong sides—indeed, the side planking in some of these scows was so thick that they were called "log built." In order to realize all the economies of this simplified construction, builders found it necessary to make such scows rather square in plan.

The *Alma,* last surviving scow schooner, now preserved at the San Francisco Maritime State Historical Park, is one of these cross-planked craft. She is somewhat boxy in appearance, though by no means is she likely to be mistaken for a barge. Another variation on the same construction system appeared in the *Traveler,* built by a Mormon Elder named Jennings on Goat Island in 1864.

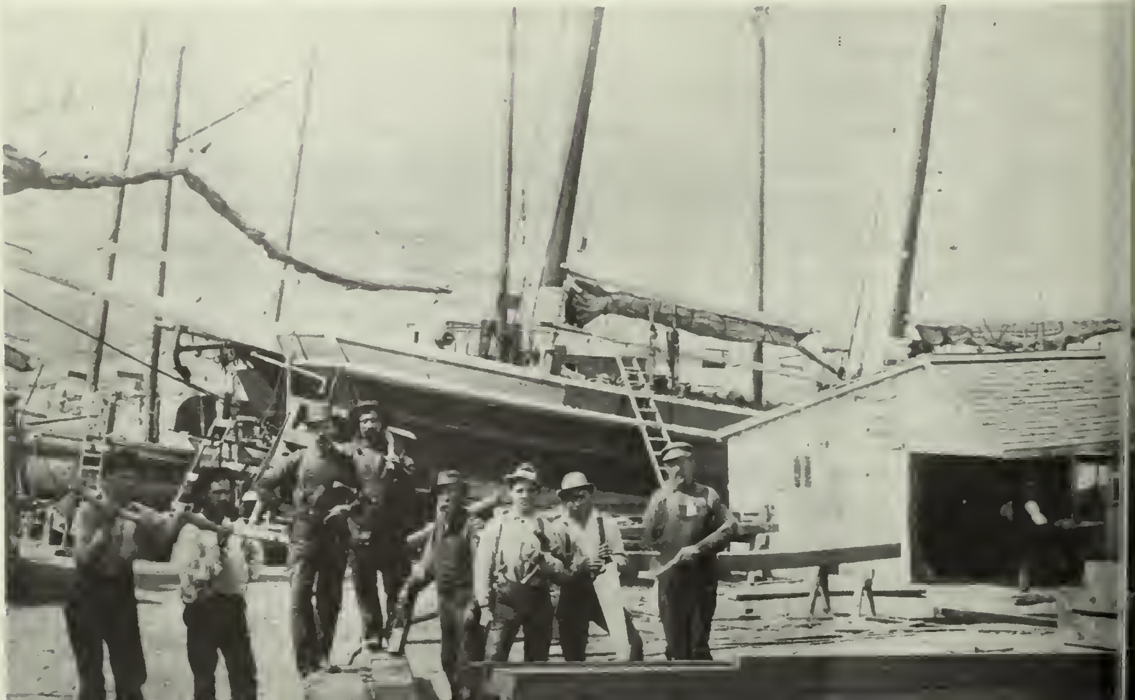

PARTNER 6x12"
BEAM 8"x12"
CHAIN LOCKER
SCUTTLE
PARTNER
CLAMP
BITT
TT ON C B CASE
CASE
PLATFORM EXTENDS ACROSS THE VESSEL & FORWARD
10" SIDED
AST STEPS CONSIST OF SLOTS CUT IN
KEELSON 14" LONG 5½" WIDE AND 6" DEEP
MAST HOUSED AT STEP.
10" SIDED
10" SIDED FROM 26" INSIDE OF VESSEL

SAN FRANCISCO BAY SCOW SCHOONER
ST. THOMAS
BUILT 1868
No. 23506 - GROSS TONS 62.47 - NET TONS 59.36
LENGTH 71.4 · BREADTH 25 - DEPTH 5.5
PLANS PREPARED BY J. PORTER SHAW FROM MEASUREMENTS
MADE ABOARD VESSEL WHEN ON MARINE RAILWAY
J. PORTER SHAW COLLECTION,
SAN FRANCISCO MARITIME MUSEUM

Jennings built his scow upside down, a technique considered rational enough in the construction of flat-bottomed craft on the East Coast, but one that was regarded as just another of Jennings' aberrations by scow schooner men. Though Jennings built at least three other scows, and his sons, Moses, John, Isaac, and David, were well known scow sailors in later years, his system was not much imitated, the San Francisco scows continuing to develop along entirely different lines from East Coast craft. The Jennings were also celebrated throughout the scow fleet as great Bible readers and dedicated teetotallers. Like the *Traveler*, they were not widely imitated. The *Traveler* outlasted not only the Jennings boys, but most of the other scow schooners on San Francisco Bay. She ran for 76 years before meeting an appropriately eccentric end: the termites got her in Petaluma.

The origin of the San Francisco scows is obscure. Howard Chapelle has found that sailing scows were used in New England in late colonial times, and that the type appeared in many forms and in many places during the nineteenth century. Yet the San Francisco scow seems to have been a purely local develop-

"Pop" Anderson in his Hunters Point boatyard (left). (Below) The scow builders of the Anderson yard pose before the scow schooner *Alpine* shortly after the turn of the century.



ment, possibly growing out of crude and hastily built craft of Gold Rush days. Sloops and schooners identified as "scows" in custom house records were built at San Francisco in 1850; as early as 1848 a builder at Santa Cruz suggestively christened one of his products *Bloody Box.* A close to definitive search of photographs and prints of Gold Rush years has failed to identify any craft that looks much like a scow schooner—but it is clear that by 1860 the type was popular and well developed.

In the first years of the twentieth century there were at least two hundred (possibly as many as four hundred) scow schooners on San Francisco Bay. Builders had turned out scows along the banks of nearly every unlikely creek around the Bay. But by far the largest number came out of the cluster of boatyards on the north side of Hunters Point, and by 1900 most of the building and repair activity had long been centered there, in the yards of Emil Munder, Fred Seimer, H. C. Thompsen, and Hans Anderson. The rare old portrait on the opposite page is of "Pop" Anderson himself, who as a boy sailed in the famous clipper ship *David Crockett,* and whose boatyard at this writing still maintains the traditions of wooden shipbuilding at Hunters Point under the name of Anderson and Christofani. Much of the restoration work on the *Alma* was accomplished at the Anderson and Christofani yard. "Pop" Anderson's gang, armed with broadaxe, caulking mallet, top-mall, saw, and plane, poses in the other picture in front of the scow schooner *Alpine.* The bearded man in the center is Neal McAdam, a Nova Scotian who was legendary for his swift, sure work with the adze. Rarely seen today, the adze resembled a hoe, and was worked in much the same manner. Like the broadaxe, it was not intended to produce a smooth surface, but in skilled hands it could turn out a surprisingly finished piece of work. One of McAdam's employers recalled once asking Neal to replace a damaged piece of planking that had a curve and a sharp twist to it; McAdam quickly took a 12 x 14 timber down to a 2½-inch plank of the required shape with such a sure eye and steady hand that it fitted perfectly the first time it was tried in place. Not many of these old timers could surpass the work done in fine boatyards today—the arts of wooden boatbuilding are not lost by any means. But where there were once hundreds in the shipbuilding trades who were real craftsmen and thousands who were competent journeymen, there are now only dozens of craftsmen and hundreds of plain wood-butchers.

The disappearance of a healthy "middle class" of competent practitioners is equally apparent among seamen: a small core now maintains the traditions of seamanship in the face of general ineptitude. The men who sailed the San Francisco scows were from this lost middling group of competent seamen. A great percentage of them were of North European and especially Scandinavian origin, able seamen who had come 'round Cape Horn in foreign ships. As often as not, in those days, sailing ship captains not only encouraged the desertion of their crews when they hit port, but went so far as to make it tough on any but the most favored seaman who had the temerity to hang around for his pay. Not that many had much pay due: the seaman had generally been shipped on in debt to a boarding house keeper, a debt that had been discharged by the "blood money" (generally two months' advance on wages) paid by the skipper to the boarding house master in order to obtain his crew. A few necessary purchases from the ship's "slop chest" would constitute a second advance on wages. Naturally, at San Francisco another boarding house runner was prepared to advance booze, meals, and lodging. Even if the sailor were paid off, the paltry sum due him was just about enough for one bright evening on the Barbary Coast—then he had nothing to fall back upon but the generosity of his boarding house keeper.

To a young Scandinavian just out of some hungry Limejuicer, life in the West Coasters looked very attractive. The twenty-five or thirty dollars a month a lumber schooner captain would pay him was an officer's salary in foreign square-riggers. And in a day when the 44-inch waist was still a genuinely impressive status symbol, the quantity of decent food provided seems to have delighted the deep-water sailor even more than the money. In exchange for this high living he had to work about twice as hard.

The scow schooners offered even more money, more food, and more work than the coasters. Three men, sometimes only two, constituted the captain, mate, cook, and crew of a scow. The captain as often as not owned the boat, in which case he might pay the crew a cut of the profits rather than a wage. If the skipper did not own the boat, he at least usually worked for a percentage. Nils Jessen, landing from a German ship in 1902, went to work in the *Florence Caduc*, one of a small fleet owned by Philip Caduc that usually carried coal to the brickyard on Galinas Creek and returned to San Francisco with brick. The owner took one-third, the captain and two-man crew split equally the other two-thirds. They had to buy their own food, but by making eight or nine trips a month between San Francisco and the brickyard they made up to $145—fantastic pay for a seaman in those years. Another old timer in the scows, Hans Beck, who as a boy deserted from the British ship *Blackbrae* in San Francisco (and was best remembered among old scow sailors as the man who cut off his own leg with a pocketknife when it was crushed in the machinery of a scow he had rigged as an oyster shell dredger), recalled that in 1908 the salaried skipper of a scow he worked aboard was paid $65 per month while he, as newest crewman, was paid $40. A couple of years later, Beck was a captain, taking a big share of the profits of a scow that grossed $1,000 a month carrying canned goods from Alviso to San Francisco.

Hans Beck had to keep his scow moving to earn that kind of money—and keep his crew moving. The hard work in the scows came in loading and unloading because the scow sailors, like the seamen in the coastal lumber schooners, were their own longshoremen. A voyage in a scow schooner would involve a great deal more heaving than sailing.

Take a typical scow schooner voyage. The crew might spend a day loading

The *Albertine* and *Port Costa* at Petalun

1600 sacks of grain at McNear's wharf at Petaluma, sail the next day down winding Petaluma Creek, beat across San Pablo Bay—and if the tide were running the wrong way in the channel into San Francisco Bay, round up and anchor. When the tide turned fair, they could beat on south to San Francisco in another three or four hours. Fickle winter breezes or occasional storms could make it a two-day trip, or more. But with good winds and tides, they might be snugged down at a San Francisco wharf by nightfall, the cook boiling up a merry stew that some sailor off Cape Horn would trade a month's wages for. A stroll across East Street to some favored hangout, a gallon or so of "steams," and it was time to turn in—so as to get an early start at those hundred-pound sacks in the morning. After unloading, they might move over to Meiggs' Wharf to load a thousand pieces of lumber for Cannon or Cavanaugh back in Petaluma. During much of the year they could count on a fair breeze to carry them to Petaluma Creek. Getting back up the Creek required a flood tide above Donahue Landing, for the channel narrowed and the twists in the creek carried the scows again and again into the teeth of the prevailing winds.

To make the last few miles up to town, the crew might break out some twenty-five-foot sticks and pole the heavy boat along fast enough to give steerage way. In the last stretch, where there were firm banks, two men would hop ashore and tow the schooner with a sling around their chests and a long line to the foremast-head. If it were summer time or after school hours, a few boys, eager for the chance to pick up dimes for pulling a scow schooner into town, might be waiting on the bank. Once alongside the lumber yard the crew would take advantage of the high tide to start unloading right away. As the tide ran out, the scow would take the bottom, lying over at an angle that made unloading difficult or impossible. Thus, the trade in Dave England's saloon might be influenced by the phases of the moon, though the heat of a summer afternoon would also bring in all but the most heroic scow men. With two days spent unloading the lumber, the round trip to San Francisco would represent on the average a good week's work.

This way of life ostensibly was done in by the internal combustion engine, though one should not overlook the demoralizing effect of changing times, symbolized by the wristwatch, the cigarette, and the Eighteenth Amendment. The order for the last sailing scow built at Hunters Point was placed with Emil Munder the day before the Earthquake of 1906. Already the old *Champion*—as her name implied a relic of the days of the Master Mariners' regattas—put-putted up and down the South Bay wreathed in the fumes of her new gasoline engines. Still, as late as 1914 a Petaluma newspaper could report that a motor scow "created a sensation" when she chugged up the creek with neither sail nor tow line to be seen. A bright new age, fatal to the scow schooners, followed very quickly. By 1920, there were only 64 scows left in the San Francisco Bay trades, over half of them motorized. Almost surprisingly, a handful of motor scows operated right through the '20's and '30's. Surprisingly—because anything a motor scow could do better than a sailing scow, it could do better yet if one put wheels on it and turned it loose on the road.

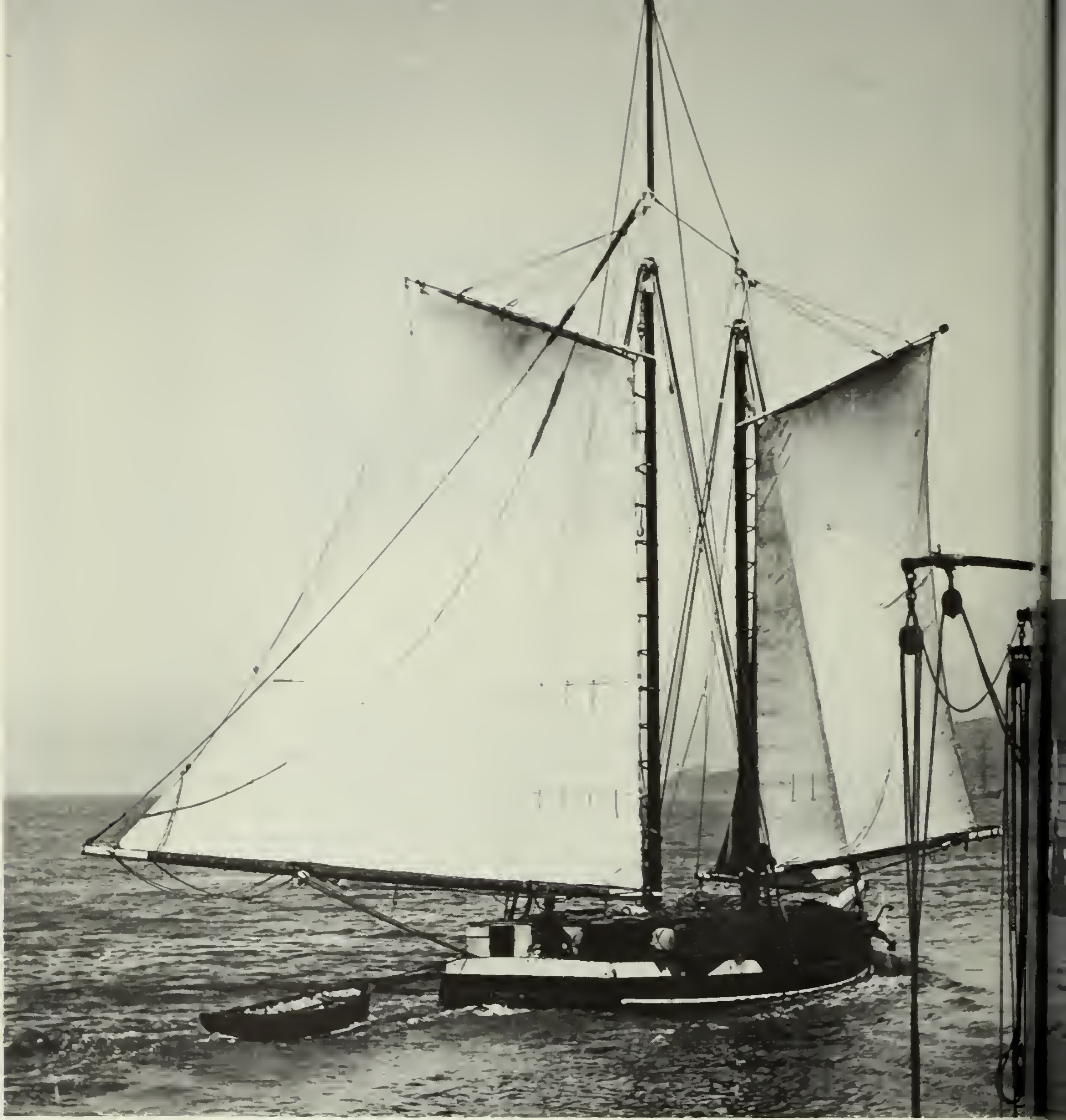
A Note on Sources

The unique types of vessels developed on the West Coast during the last half of the nineteenth century have received far less critical attention than have East Coast types. The San Francisco Maritime Museum has since its founding expended great energy toward correcting this imbalance. This article and photographic portfolio is a sketch based on research extending over the last twenty years by the author and by Karl Kortum, Director of the San Francisco Maritime Museum. As of this writing, the only extensive scholarly treatment of the scows is found in my unpublished thesis, "The Scow Schooners of San Francisco Bay" (University of Nevada, 1955), a copy of which is available in the Maritime Museum library.

Nearly all of the important material on the history and nature of the scow schooner has been compiled from casual contemporary sources (such as newspapers and custom house documents) and from extensive interviews. Fortunately, many important interviews were conducted in the early 1950's, when quite a few men who were in their eighties could speak of working the San Francisco scows sixty-five years before. It would almost be impossible now to gather the information that they passed on to us. For example, a series of interviews with the important scow builder, Emil Munder, established the rationale of design and construction practices which had puzzled the eminent American maritime historian Howard Chapelle.

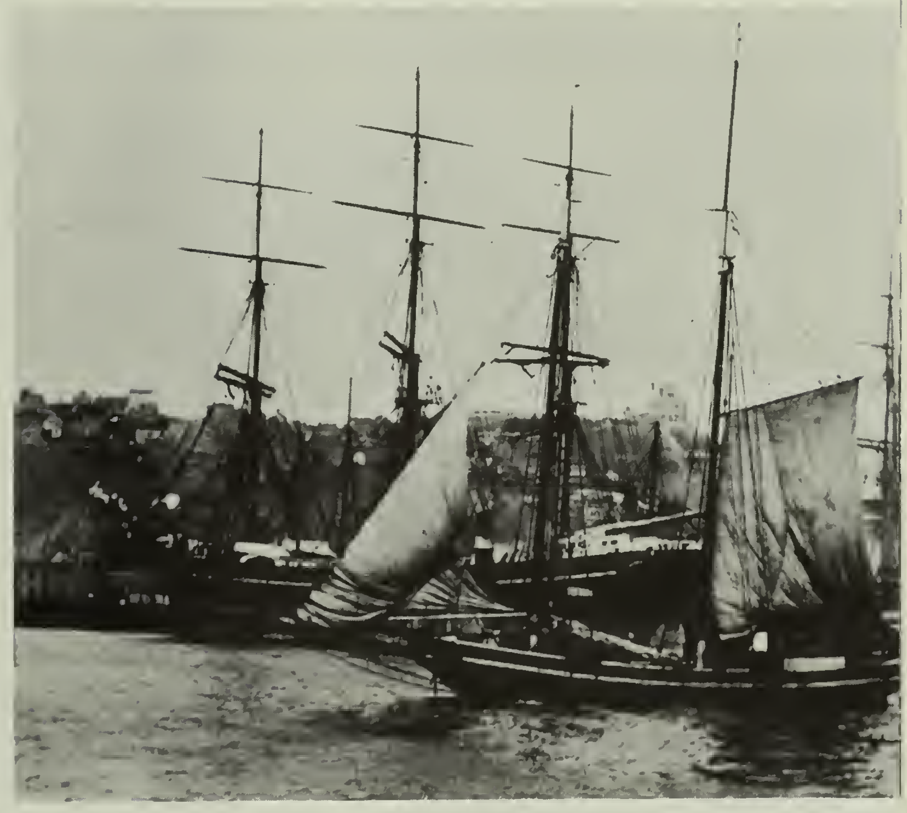
The only significant contemporary published work on the scow schooners is the note by Henry Hall in *Shipbuilding Industry in the United States* (see *Tenth Census of the United States*, Washington, D. C., 1884). Chapelle touches on the type in his *American Small Sailing Craft*, New York, 1951). Some solid information was published in the San Francisco Maritime Museum *Sea Letter* in December of 1967.

In the history of technology the photograph or drawing takes a large role, as it more explicitly defines objects and activities than can mere words. For this reason, I have chosen to use many photographs in sketching the history of the scow schooner. While the photographs originally came from many sources, all can now be found in the archives of the San Francisco Maritime Museum.



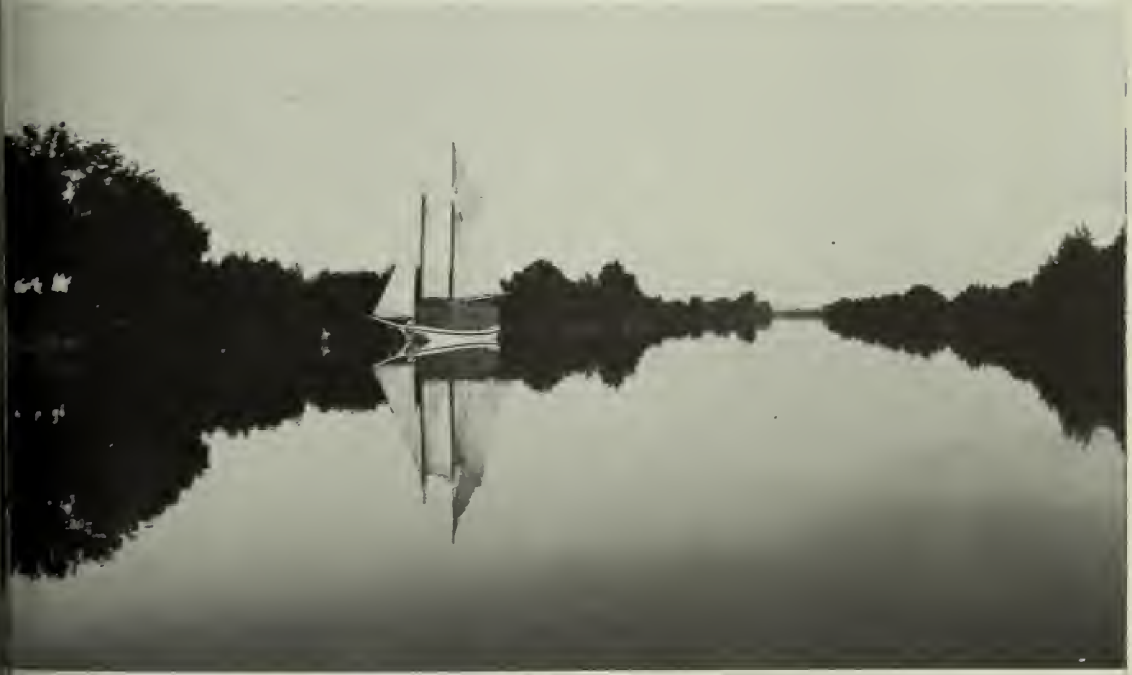
Wing and wing (above). . . . The scow schooner *Caroline*, her scuppers awash, sails from San Francisco with a load of lumber for some upriver port. There was a *Caroline* of about this size built in 1853. If this is the same schooner, then there was little difference between the vessels of the Gold Rush era and those of the 1890's.

Along the city front (below). . . . In the shadow of Telegraph Hill, a scow ghosts along toward her loading berth. At the wharf is a big Downeast ship which has reached San Francisco by way of Cape Horn. Both the Downeaster and the scow schooner were distinctive American contributions to the history of naval architecture.



Reflections. . . . The scows were a favorite subject for both amateur and professional photographers. At the left a "Swedish towboat" (the yawl boat of the scow) pulls a hay scow that last few hundred feet up to the wharf. Looking closely you can see that the steering wheel of the scow has been raised eight or nine feet so that the helmsman (at this moment standing atop the load) can see over the hay.

Below is a glassy day in the Delta country with a white scow floating on its own reflection. A few scows were painted white and a few were barn red—but the traditional color scheme was bottle green with white bulwarks and a red sheer strake.



The hay wharf. . . . Hay turned the wheels of the nineteenth century, and hay was such a distinctive cargo of the San Francisco Bay scow schooners that they were often called hay scows, even though they carried many other types of cargo.

ANNIE L.

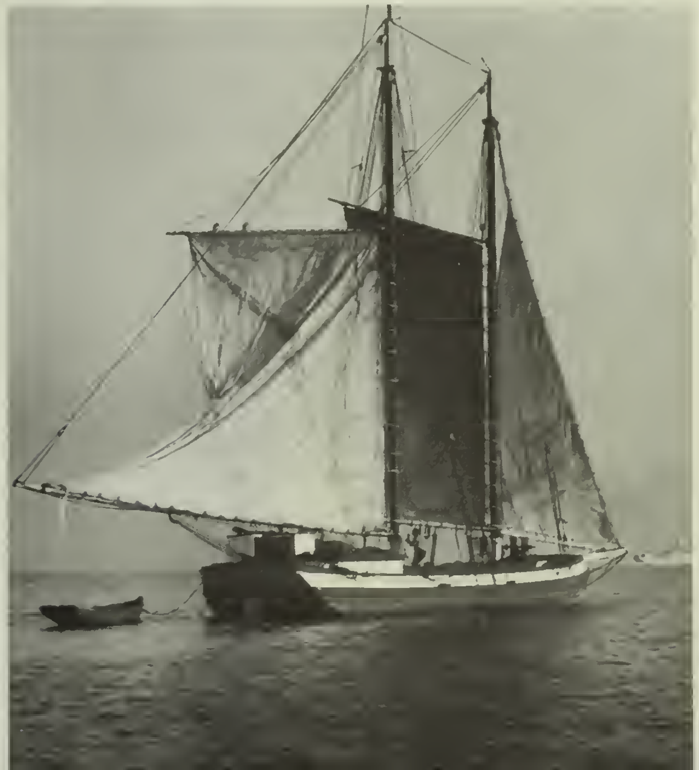
A launching party. . . . The *James F. McKenna* sails on her trial trip with her owners and builders and their families and friends.

Scows on the ways at the Hunters Point yards.

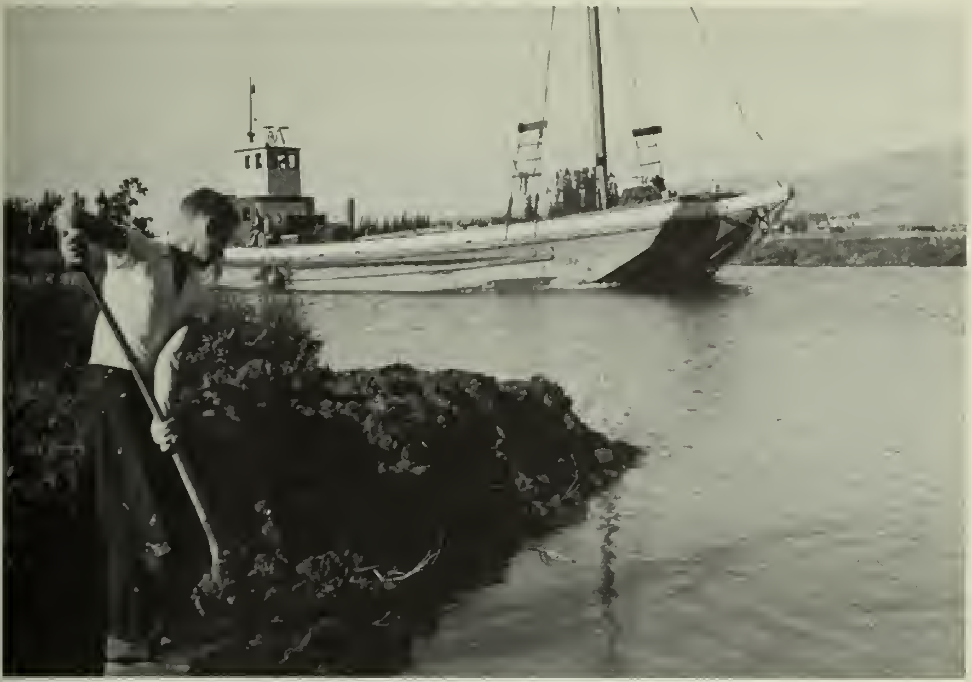
Gus Lawrence, scow schoonerman (below). . . . (From an interview on the bank of Whiskey Slough, 1956). "Six of us went over to the St. Louis Bar on Front Street—1908 this was. Right off this bark from Boston, with a little money in our pockets, and we had to get rid of it before we did anything else. We bought a whole quarter keg of beer, set it up in the middle of the table. Had it about finished when in comes this man in overalls. He looked like an old spittoon cleaner, and drunk as an owl he was. But he pulls out gold and buys drinks for the house. He wants nine sailors to go up the Sacramento and load hay and work his scows. We all six went—up to one of those big hay ranches. We're supposed to be heaving these 250-pound bales on board, and the old man who owns the ranch comes down and wants to know why we aren't working. 'No wine, no hay!' we tell him. He goes back and brings down wine. When we have one scow loaded, some of us sail with her. We have a barrel of wine on top of the hay, and it's night, so when we come down on the bridge at Rio Vista nobody's got wind enough to blow the horn. But the bridge tender sees us and opens up (not like at Courtland the time we took the bridge right out). Down off the end of Sherman Island the tide changes. Someone threw away the hook—didn't make the line fast, and she was gone. So we turn in anyway, everybody drunk, and we drift up on Sherman Island at high tide. Next morning the cook looks out and says, 'Fine wind, set the sails, boys.' Fine wind all right, but the man can't get her to steer. We're two miles up on the mud."

The Master Mariners' Regatta (left). . . . The scow sailor's big outing of the year was the Master Mariners' Regatta on the Fourth of July, when coastal and bay workboats competed for the coveted "Champion" banner of the Master Mariners' Benevolent Association. The races began in 1867 and were held annually through the '70's. The sport was revived in 1884 and '85 and again in 1891. The lively scene above was caught during the 1884 regatta as the three-masted lumber schooner *Occidental* and two scow schooners bore down on the Fort Point stakeboat. The fresh westerly sweeping through the Golden Gate has cost the three-master a foretopsail; one of the crew broke his wrist trying to muzzle the splitting canvas. Riding high and light and if possible setting a seldom-used fisherman topsail, the scows showed themselves smart sailors on regatta day.

A swig on the peak halliard (below). . . . One man could get a scow underweigh and sail it under most conditions. Afloat, home was the little after cabin; for a galley, many scow men added the box-like house that you see at the after end of the *Dreadnaught's* cabin trunk.



WAVELET



Awash in shingles (left). . . . A waterlogged scow was not unusual, and the *Robbie Hunter* ran for thirty years after this minor maritime disaster in 1905. Fire was a greater threat in the hay scows and in later motor scows. The view shows the movable steering gear quite clearly. The helmsman is standing on the "pulpit," a platform to which the steering wheel was attached. With a load of shingles, the wheel has been elevated only three or four feet; with a hay load, longer extenders would be used.

The gas scow (above). . . . Chugging up Petaluma Creek, the *Matilda* has declared independence of wind and tide. A few years after this picture was taken in the late 1930's, the *Matilda* was abandoned on an Alviso mudbank, a victim of economics.

With a dying breeze and a setting sun, the heavily laden *Annie Maria* ghosts towards home port at San Francisco.

John L. Shover

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The California Progressives and the 1924 Campaign

California Progressivism remained a viable political movement in the nineteen twenties. Its leadership was schism-torn, and powerful opposition elements had successfully challenged the nearly undisputed control the reformers had maintained since Hiram Johnson's election as Governor in 1910. Even in the days of its ascendancy, however, Progressivism had never encompassed a unified body of thought and had never been free of factionalism. Out of power and confronting a complex of new issues, Progressives found old ideological divisions and personal antagonisms assuming greater importance while new issues emerged. Nonetheless, on specific issues (particularly challenges to the achievements of the past decade) the leaders were able to unite as a strong, and sometimes successful, political coalition. While Progressivism had fallen upon evil days, the movement was still enough alive to generate the major political dissent of the twenties and maintain a strand of continuity that wove the principles of some of the Progressives into the new California politics that emerged in the depression period.[1]

Four critical issues invited the attention and possible action of Progressives in 1924. First, could control of the Assembly and Senate be wrested from the conservative supporters of the economy-minded Governor, Friend W. Richardson, elected in 1922? Second, could the opposition of powerful utility interests to a comprehensive state financed water and hydro-electric plan be overcome by a direct appeal to the voters via the initiative? Third, should the California Progressives lend their support to the futile bid of their titular leader, Hiram Johnson, to win the Republican presidential nomination and restore Progressivism in Washington? Finally, with the failure of Johnson's bid, did principle demand a vote for the third party candidate, Robert M. La Follette, rather than President Coolidge?

Not all veteran Progressive leaders responded alike to these issues. While the campaigns for each of them were led by men of undisputed Progressive credentials, only a handful were unqualified in support of all four points.

Some of the most enthusiastic partisans for public power could not countenance the presidential candidacy of Johnson; many of those who actively campaigned for the Senator in the presidential primary nevertheless felt compelled to lend their support to Coolidge in November.

Progressivism in California had assumed this *ad hoc* character for two principal reasons. First, a series of personal and ideological rivalries had splintered the leadership. Second, control of the Republican party in the state and nation had passed to non-Progressives.

The first defection from the Progressive ranks had been the gradual withdrawal of leaders and voters in Southern California, an early stronghold of reform sentiment. Part of the reason was substantive. Southern leaders, touched by the prevailing open shop philosophy of Los Angeles County, were skeptical of the social legislation of the Johnson administration and alarmed at the friendship between the Governor and labor leaders in San Francisco.[2] More of the reason was the personality of Governor Hiram Johnson. Johnson had left the governorship in 1916 in bad temper, convinced that the choice of his successor, William D. Stephens, had been forced upon him by Southern California leaders as the price for their support of his Senatorial candidacy.[3] Whatever the reason, prominent southern Progressives like E. T. Earl, Edward Dickson, and Marshall Stimson disappeared from the ranks, to appear in 1920 as supporters of Johnson's arch-enemy, Herbert Hoover, in the presidential primary. The once impressive majorities Johnson had piled up in the southern counties crumbled. After the 1924 primary Johnson wrote bitterly to one of his remaining southern confidants: "I am perfectly certain that I can be of real service north of the Tehachapi. I am very certain I can be of little service in Los Angeles. The tyranny there of Chandler[4] passes belief, and until you people who live there devise some means of meeting him and his papers, the Dicksons, . . . the Better America Federation, and the like, we'll find our road in California extremely difficult. . . ."[5]

Johnson's irreconcilable stand against the League of Nations widened into a chasm between himself and some of his most prominent Progressive colleagues. Congressman William Kent, conservationist, friend of organized labor, and a prohibitionist, occupied a position to the left of Johnson in California, and the relationship between the two had been strained. When Kent, who endorsed the League, sought the Republican Senatorial nomination in 1920, Johnson lent his powerful support to Samuel Shortridge, a Stand-patter never suspected of any Progressive inclinations. Johnson's opposition was only partly responsible for Kent's defeat, but Kent never forgave Johnson. He remained an ardent Progressive, campaigning for the Water and Power Act and for La Follette in 1924, but he was an implacable political foe of Hiram Johnson.[6]

The estrangement of Johnson from one of his closest lieutenants, Chester

Rowell, was even more emotion-laden. Rowell had traditionally been a moderate among Progressives and as early as 1916 the labor press had criticized his fraternizing with Old Guard Republican leaders.[7] As Johnson made his petulant departure from Sacramento to Washington he wrote Rowell: "Upon you, with my departure devolves the leadership of the altruistic, idealistic, progressive movement in California."[8] The friendship abruptly terminated when Rowell announced his support for the League of Nations. "What a damn scrub he is," Johnson remarked of Rowell to his close friend, C. K. McClatchy, and noted that Rowell had backed Cox in 1920 and Moore[9] in 1922 because of their support for the League, but in 1924 endorsed Coolidge who opposed the League.[10] Rowell, for his part, complained of Johnson's insistence upon a "personal, feudal, or tribal loyalty" but noted that he still stood upon Johnson's record as governor; his sole dissent was with his international policies.[11]

Could politicians in the nineteen twenties have swept under the carpet the divisive issue of Prohibition they doubtless would have done so. Hiram Johnson and most of the major Progressive leaders attempted to remain aloof, but among the Progressive legislators were ardent Prohibitionists, like Senator Herbert Jones of Santa Clara and Assemblyman Charles Cleary of Tulare county. Franklin Hichborn, the major chronicler of California Progressivism, was a leading publicist for the dry cause. By contrast, the San Francisco delegations in the Senate and Assembly, although they provided no major Progressive leaders, were a critical voting bloc usually lending support to reform legislation. Reflecting the city they represented, they were doggedly wet.[12]

Until 1916 dry leaders had supported Progressive causes. A 1919 A. F. of L. evaluation of the voting record of members of the legislature revealed that the two Senators with the worst labor record were wets and of the eleven Assemblymen at the bottom of the A. F. of L. list, seven were wet, four dry.[13] After 1918, as the leadership of the Anti-Saloon League passed from D. M. Gandier to Arthur C. Briggs, dry forces became increasingly allied with conservative issues and candidates. In 1920 the drys entered former Lieutenant Governor A. J. Wallace, president of the Anti-Saloon League, in the Republican Senatorial primary. The division of the dry vote between Wallace and William Kent was a major factor in handing the nomination to the single wet candidate, Samuel Shortridge. Four years later, in 1924, the Prohibition question would rob the Progressives of the fruits of the only clear victory they were to win that year.[14]

While Progressives impoverished their energies in their own internecine rivalries, they also confronted a more threatening external challenge. The legislature of 1921, with the support of Governor Stephens, had substantially increased the state budget and passed the King bill, raising corporation taxes thirty-five percent.[15] In so doing the Progressives brought down upon themselves the opposition of one of the most potent combinations of interest groups ever gathered in Sacramento—the so-called "Billion Dollar Lobby," whose argument consisted of a demand for the end of extravagance, and whose grossest techniques sometimes included distribution of whiskey on the floor of the Senate.[16] By the election of 1922, this opposition had mushroomed into a powerful political machine bent on purging California of Progressive administrators and legislators. It encompassed Old Guard Republican leaders long vexed by the power of the Johnson wing of the party; it was financed in part by corporations adversely affected by tax equalization and in part by elements fighting the state's prohibition and anti-race track laws. It was buttressed by the newspaper support of the powerful Knowland-Cameron-Chandler axis (*Oakland Tribune*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*) and utilized front organizations like the "People's Economy League."[17] For one committed Progressive, 1922 marked the first concerted political drive by a "state-wide organization infinitely more powerful, better equipped, more intelligently directed than the once all-powerful Southern Pacific machine. . . ."[18]

The economy-based campaign was successful; Governor Stephens was defeated in the Republican primary by Friend W. Richardson, an apostate Progressive who had been State Treasurer during part of the Johnson administration. The Progressives lost control of the Assembly and retained only a bare majority in the Senate. Governor Richardson entered into the task of cutting expenses with obvious relish; he submitted to the legislature a proposed budget two million dollars less than that of the previous biennium, reduced the number of state employees and slashed social programs dear to Progressives. Attempts to restore depletions fell victim to the Governor's newly acquired power of item veto in budget bills. To leave no remaining doubt as to his authenticity as an economizer, the governor vetoed nearly half the bills passed by the legislature on the grounds they were extravagant or unnecessary.[19]

The vendetta of 1922 and 1923 was so direct a challenge that Progressive leaders had no choice but to subliminate their differences if they were to preserve any of the accomplishments of the past decade. The Progressive Voters' League, founded in August, 1923, was designed to underwrite and sustain the Progressive minority in Sacramento, hopefully to transform it into a majority in the 1924 elections and to unseat Richardson in 1926.[20] The League was the most successful of Progressive ventures in the nineteen twenties. A list of its officers reads like an honor roll of reform leaders. Prime movers were a core of Progressive legislators and elected officeholders who survived the Richardson sweep. These included Senators Herbert Jones, J. N. Inman and Lyman King, author of the tax equalization bill; Assemblyman Charles Cleary; Lieutenant Governor C. C. Young; Superintendent of Public Instruction Will C. Wood, and Clyde L. Seavey, president of the State Railroad Commission. From outside the ranks of officialdom came Franklin Hichborn, Chester Rowell, and Seth Brown, a labor leader from Los Angeles.[21] Funds were provided by two angels of past Progressive causes: Dr. John R. Haynes of Los Angeles and Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco. Of the major reform leaders, only the Southern Californians who had defected after 1916—and William Kent—were absent from the roster. Kent's sympathies were clear enough: he attempted to launch a parallel organization that would add to the principles of the league a declaration in support of international cooperation and thus be free of any link to Hiram Johnson.[22] The state primary in August, 1924, was the first confrontation between the Progressive Voters' League and the Richardson forces.

The attempts of the retrenched Progressives to present a united front were obstructed by an explosive and potentially disruptive factor: the presidential aspirations of Hiram Johnson. The Senator had long cherished such ambitions: in the 1920 campaign he had entered presidential primaries in twelve states and had won seven, including California.[23] Even before the death of President Harding, Johnson was making advances to national Republican leaders and asserting his claim to lead the renascent Progressivism that was stirring in California. "If the State has turned backward, as many of our friends seem to think," he wrote C. K. McClatchy in July, 1923, "we better develop that fact, and the earliest time at which we can develop it is at the presidential preference primary."[24] The Senator never relented in his determination to link his own candidacy with the preservation of Progressivism in California.

By December a drive for delegates was underway. The Senator planned to enter a score of presidential primaries, and had gathered a national campaign organization that included such Progressives as Harold Ickes, Illinois campaign manager; Usher Burdick[25], North Dakota manager; Senator Peter Norbeck, of South Dakota, and the attorney, Dudley Field Malone.

A strong "Northern California Johnson for President" committee was headed by Charles L. Neumiller of Stockton; Frank C. Havenner, formerly the Senator's private secretary, served as campaign manager. A Southern California arm was headed by Frank P. Doherty. Supporting the Johnson candidacy were many of the leaders of the Progressive Voters' League: Senators Jones and Inman, Albert Boynton, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, Lieutenant Governor Young, Superintendent Will C. Wood, Congressman Phil D. Swing, Clyde Seavey, and Seth Brown. Major newspapers in the state backing the Senator included the Scripps chain, the *San Francisco Call*, the McClatchy chain, and the *Stockton Record*.[26]

Johnson seemed provided with ready-made issues as he embarked upon a campaign for delegates in the spring of 1924. Beginning in January, the

Walsh Committee had uncovered a trail of intrigue and corruption in the oil leases at Elk Hills and Teapot Dome; by March Attorney General Harry Daugherty had fallen under scrutiny, and the full story of the scandals that would blemish the Harding administration began to unravel. Wrapping himself in the mantle of reform, Johnson sounded the old Progressive battlecries as he castigated the "unholy alliance between big business and crooked politics" that dominated the Republican party, and he threatened to sever all ties if the party continued "its cowardice and half-approbation of bribery and corruption."[27]

Sadly for Hiram Johnson, he picked the wrong office at the wrong time. In Calvin Coolidge he had a sagacious political opponent who carefully avoided being sullied by the blemishes on the Harding administration and remained sufficiently ambivalent in his political principles to attract the support of such acknowledged Progressives as Raymond Robins and Senator William J. Borah.[28] Given the advantages of incumbency and support from conservative Republican leaders, Coolidge was unbeatable in 1924.

Johnson's campaign lacked funds and organization. The direct primaries quickly affirmed its futility. In the first, in North Dakota, Johnson ran a narrow third behind Coolidge and Robert La Follette, a write-in candidate.[29] Johnson eked out his only victory in South Dakota. In Michigan, carried by Johnson in 1920, the President piled up a two to one majority. By April, Coolidge, with near unanimous control of delegations from non-primary states, was only 178 votes short of nomination. To clinch his victory, he swept the Illinois primary, carried Nebraska (a Johnson state in 1920), and captured Ohio and New Jersey.[30] By the May 6 California primary, the nomination of Calvin Coolidge was absolutely assured.

The Senator suffered defeat less than gracefully. Pouring out his emotions to his sons, he confessed: "It has been a terrible experience. I have been practically alone and have never utilized my vitality so harshly. I am so physically exhausted that I care little what happens. The contest has been against all of the wealth and all of the power there is in the United States outside of Peter Norbeck." A week later, the final decision determined, he became painfully self-deprecating: "I should have foreseen what would happen. I did not. I have paid the penalty, and my dear boys, I tried to pay the price, and to one of my temperament and pride, it has been terrible, without whining. I am the author of my own ills, and the lack of judgment and vision have been my own."[31]

His public stance was more determined. Confronted with the gleeful demands of his California opponents that he quit the race, Johnson adamantly responded in a telegram to his supporters: "The only idea I have is frankly to say to our people recent results make my nomination impossible but that there is a greater thing at stake in California than personal candidacy and that is Progressivism and Progressive achievement and this primary is the first real battle between Chandler and his scoundrels on the one hand and the men and women on the other who want to keep California decent and progressive."[32]

Johnson's determination was a liability to the Progressive drive for control of the legislature. Not only was the candidacy futile, it threatened to wreck the unity the leaders strived so hard to attain. The Senator was little help, for he would not return to California to campaign. While a substantial number of Progressive leaders backed Johnson, William Kent and Chester Rowell were already numbered among the Coolidge entourage. Eighteen former Progressives signed a statement attacking Johnson and pledging support to the President. Among them were former Governor George C. Pardee, A. J. Wallace, dry Senatorial candidate in 1920, and such prominent ex-leaders from Southern California as Marshall Stimson and Edward A. Dickson.[33]

The Johnson campaign leaders, trapped in a situation not of their own making, went on gamely with the effort. The strongest buttress remaining in the Johnson constituency was the support of organized labor. The four labor councils of Los Angeles—central labor, building trades, metal trades and allied printing trades—unanimously endorsed Johnson. A flyer distributed by the State Federation of Labor, galvanized into political action in 1924, urged all union members who were registered Republicans to cast their ballots for Johnson.[34]

All to no avail. Johnson delegates won only 45.7 percent of the vote, as the Senator suffered the only defeat ever inflicted upon him in California. A *Los Angeles Times* feature story gloated, "And so Hiram Johnson goes howling and foaming into political oblivion."[35] Not only were political requiems twenty-one years premature, but an examination of the voting returns reveals some impressive Johnson support. He carried 36 of the state's 58 counties. Had California been divided and the area south of the Tehachapi excluded, Johnson would have carried the state with a 54% margin.[36] Johnson swept San Francisco by a 60% landslide. In his traditional centers of strength, the seven working-class assembly districts south of Market Street and in the Mission District, his margin ranged from 64 to 79%.[37]

That the leaders could regroup after the defeat of their favorite son candidate is convincing evidence that vitality and conviction remained in the California Progressive movement. All the major leaders of the Johnson campaign were active in the drive to win control of the state legislature in the August primary, and no prominent Progressive, not even Rowell, was in open opposition. A few who had opposed Johnson in May, most notably former Governor Pardee and William Kent, campaigned actively against a Richardson-controlled legislature.[38] Johnson himself returned to California and took to the campaign trail. State labor leaders cooperated actively with the Progressive Voters' League. Responding to declarations of Coolidge supporters that their primary victory would pace the drive for complete control of the legislature by the Richardson economy bloc, the leaders of the Progressive Voters' League rejoined that the primary had nothing to do with state politics—an interpretation somewhat different from that of Johnson in April.[39] Even the La Follette presidential candidacy, upon which there was sharp division within the Progressive camp, was not allowed to interfere with the state campaign.

If the Progressives failed to win a decisive victory in August, they at least established a beachhead. Eleven of the twenty contested Senate seats were won by Progressives, giving them a one vote majority; ten new Progressive assemblymen were elected, making a total of at least forty-eight Progressives out of the eighty members of the lower house.[40] In San Francisco and Alameda counties, all candidates opposed to Governor Richardson were elected. Although the Progressive Voters' League published no official list of candidates, the *Sacramento Bee* listed five Senatorial candidates and thirteen Assembly candidates from Northern California endorsed by the League. All of the Senators and nine of the Assembly candidates were elected.[41]

In part it was an abortive victory. Divisions among the Progressives over Prohibition permitted their opponents to organize both the Senate and the Assembly.[42] However, some of the more aggressive budget-cutting proclivities of Governor Richardson were curtailed and the legislative session of 1925 registered several notable progressive achievements, most significantly the ratification of the federal Child Labor amendment. More important, the momentum of the 1924 campaign carried the Progressive Voters' League to its last decisive triumph: the defeat of Richardson and the election of a Progressive, C. C. Young, to the governorship in 1926.[43]

Simultaneous with the battle for control of the legislature, California Progressives supplied the motive power for two other vital campaigns: the presidential candidacy of Robert M. La Follette and the Water and Power Act, an initiative designed to provide state financing of a master plan for water and hydro-electric development in California. The same individuals, men usually associated with the faction of the Progressive movement to the left of the main current in California, led both these campaigns.

Heading the La Follette campaign in the western states was Rudolph Spreckels of San Francisco, a radical Progressive who had been intimately associated with reform causes since the San Francisco graft prosecutions of 1906. Northern California campaign manager was Franck Havenner, who had filled the same role in the Johnson primary. William Kent at first endorsed Coolidge, but by September had climbed aboard the La Follette bandwagon. The labor leaders who had been active in Progressive causes—Paul Scharrenberg, Andrew Furuseth, and Seth Brown of the A. F. of L., and Henry See of the Railroad Brotherhoods—made speaking tours for La Follette. Franklin Hichborn, Congressman Phil Swing, and Clyde Seavey, veteran Progressives all, were other backers. The McClatchy chain of newspapers, the most consistent Progressive press in the state, endorsed La Follette in August.[44]

To support La Follette, whose electors were listed as Socialists on the California ballot, required a commitment to Progressivism greater than a commitment to the Republican party. The choices made by leaders who had been associated with the reform movement is a good barometer of their Progressive convictions. At the opposite extreme from Spreckels, Kent, and Havenner, some ex-Progressives joined in smearing of La Follette. Chief among them was Chester Rowell. He was one of the three authors of a public letter signed by forty-eight former supporters of Theodore Roosevelt which declared that La Follette had betrayed Progressivism in 1912, had been an enemy of his country in 1917, and mounted a candidacy now that was based on radicalism and could only lead to class warfare.[45] After a weekend on the Potomac with the President, Rowell declared his intention to take charge of the Johnson elements among the California Progressives and lead them to Coolidge.[46]

More numerous than the outright supporters or opponents of La Follette were those Progressives, mostly office holders or aspirants, who maintained a studied indifference during the autumn of 1924. Pace setter for this group was Hiram Johnson. The logic of Johnson's position in the primary campaign—his condemnation of the Republican party as a handmaiden of corruption and his threats to bolt unless drastic reforms were completed—seemed to dictate an endorsement of La Follette. More contrite following his defeat, Johnson argued that he was pledged to accept the results, yet was not obligated to endorse Coolidge. His only alternative, he insisted, was to remain aloof, maintain his position in the Republican party, and in the future hope to "bore within."[47] The Senator defied all attempts of both La Follette and Coolidge partisans to smoke him out. Through the autumn months he isolated himself in his Green Street home, protected from curious onlookers by two police dogs and a Japanese butler.[48] He broke his public silence only to criticize the decision of the California Supreme Court that barred the La Follette electors from the ballot and forced Californians who wished to vote for the third party to cast their ballot for the Socialist electors.[49] Other than this, Johnson masked his intentions so successfully that even his personal papers give no hint of how he finally cast his ballot.

Some Progressive leaders, like Senators Jones and Inman and Superintendent Wood, followed Johnson's lead and simply dropped out of the political picture following the August primaries; Lieutenant Governor Young and Meyer Lissner endorsed Coolidge, then sat on their hands through the campaign. Of the leaders of the Progressive Voters' League, only Albert E. Boynton, chairman of the Republican Central Committee, was active on Coolidge's behalf.[50]

The Republican state convention in September succeeded in perpetuating the tortured compromise which had held the party together since the Progressives had returned to the fold in 1916. A harmony ticket of presidential electors drawn from both factions was selected. Johnson's campaign manager in May, Charles Neumiller, became new chairman of the central committee. Management of the Coolidge campaign was entrusted, however, to the group that had backed Hoover in 1920, Richardson in 1922, and opposed Johnson in May. The presidential campaign committee was chaired by Mark Requa, a Standpatter and leading California lieutenant of Herbert Hoover.[51]

The result was a two-headed campaign. A reporter who visited the offices of the Republican Central Committee wryly observed, "It would not be true to picture these headquarters as teeming with activity in behalf of Coolidge." The real center of the California Republican campaign, he found, was the office of the Coolidge-Dawes Republican League, firmly under the control of Requa and the Standpat wing of the party. He recorded one La Follette supporter as venturing that if the State Central Committee were polled, the majority would be for La Follette. Frank P. Doherty, who had managed Johnson's primary campaign in Southern California, made a parallel observation when he divided Johnson's supporters into two classes: on the one hand those like Neumiller who due to their political futures must support Coolidge, and on the other the rank and file. "These," he surmised, "who outnumber the former group four or five to one, and in fact make up the biggest part of your support, will either openly support La Follette or go quietly and vote for him."[53]

Whatever enthusiasm was engendered by the 1924 campaign was a near monopoly of the La Follette progressives. A reporter following Vice Presidential candidate Burton K. Wheeler through Sacramento and San Joaquin counties wrote: "There is little evidence of activity on the part of the Democrats or Republicans in either of the counties covered so far. La Follette banners on buildings and automobiles outnumber the Coolidge banners two to one."[54] As for the Democrats, it would have been difficult to conclude that John W. Davis was a presidential candidate in California. "There is no sign of any campaign for Davis in this state," wrote one leading party member, and on the eve of the election the chairman of the party's executive committee concluded, "It has been a difficult campaign by reason of the general apathy. The only enthusiasm that has been exhibited as far as I have been able to observe, has been in the La Follette group. . . ."[55]

Enthusiasm and a prolixity of bumper stickers do not win elections. Coolidge carried the state by a landslide, winning 57.2% of the vote, compared to 34.5% for La Follette, 8.2% for Davis. California ranked eighth among the states in percentage of Progressive vote.[56] Despite the debilitating Socialist label, the third party had carried fifteen counties, five of these, including Sacramento county, by a clear majority. Coolidge's margin of victory was less than that for Harding four years earlier or that of Hoover in 1928.[57] If the overwhelming Republican strength of Southern California could have been excluded, Coolidge's margin would have been reduced to 51.4%.

Concurrent with the presidential election, California voters were asked to approve on initiative a Water and Power Act—on the ballot a second time, it having been defeated in 1922. The Act authorized the state to issue $500,000,000 in bonds to finance the distribution of water and electric energy as a part of a master water plan. Preferential rights in the purchase of water and power were to be given to the state and political subdivisions, not to privately owned utilities.[58]

The Water and Power Acts were opening salvos in a decades-long battle, not yet concluded, to evolve some equitable plan for the distribution of water from surplus areas in the northern portion of the state to the parched areas of the southern San Joaquin Valley. More than any other single political issue of the twenties, the Water and Power Act bridged the concerns of the Progressives with key issues in California politics in the 'thirties and 'forties. In 1919, Robert B. Marshall, chief hydrographer of the U. S. Geological Survey, had outlined a water plan hinging upon a series of storage reservoirs in the Sacramento River system and two large canals to carry water south into the San Joaquin Valley. Marshall's plan, with various modifications, became the nucleus of the Central Valley Project, finally approved by the state legislature in 1933. In 1921, a Water and Power Act based upon Marshall's plan was approved by the Senate but killed in the Assembly. Immediately a group of advocates circulated petitions to submit the defeated measure to the voters in the 1922 election.[59]

The major promoter of the Water and Power Act, both as organizer and financier, was Rudolph Spreckels—a millionaire in his own right and perhaps the most radical of California Progressives. Joining him were a group of leaders customarily associated with the left wing of the California reform movement, men like William Kent, Franklin Hichborn, Clyde Seavey, John R. Haynes, and C. K. McClatchy. All of the principal backers of the Water and Power Act, with the exception of former Governor Pardee, were La Follette supporters in 1924. While it is likely that many of the Progressive legislators, such as Senators Jones and Inman, were supporters of public power, out of the major Johnson backers in the May primary only Seavey and McClatchy were closely associated with the Water and Power initiative. Johnson himself never endorsed the initiative. Spreckels and Haynes, two of the most vigorous backers of the Water and Power Act, had not been active in Johnson's primary campaign and Kent, of course, had opposed Johnson. Albert Boynton, who was rapidly disengaging from his Progressive past, was the only major leader publicly to oppose the initiative.[60]

The foremost point of contention was the provision in the Act giving preferential rights to publicly owned water and power companies. This assured the determined opposition of the powerful Pacific Gas and Electric and Southern California Edison companies, suppliers of most of the electric voltage in California. After the first initiative had been overwhelmingly rejected by the voters, a Senate investigation revealed that P. G. & E. had spent nearly half a million dollars not only for publicity but in retainers to various vocal opponents of the Act, including former San Francisco mayor and building trades leader, P. H. McCarthy. Utility money had underwritten such "grass-roots" opposition organizations as the "People's Economy League."[61]

Against an opposition that was well financed, ably led, and with most of the state's press at its disposal, the tiny legion of public power advocates labored in vain. There was no denying that the proposed plan was costly—an argument with considerable political saliency in the twenties.[62] Los Angeles county had temporarily satisfied its water needs through the completion of aqueducts from Owens Valley and the voters there were little concerned with the irrigation needs of Central Valley farmers. Though the 1924 initiative had wider support than that of 1922, particularly from organized labor, the Water and Power Act was decisively defeated for a second time. The initiative won only thirty percent of the votes cast and a majority only in two northern counties. Even in defeat, the Progressive advocates of water and power development had dramatized a recurring problem, one that all the amassed political influence of private utilities and ingrained fears of government spending could not down. Lines of opposition, destined to appear again in years to come, were clearly drawn. A water plan for California had to await a new decade, a depression, and federal policies different from those of the 'twenties.

It is true that in four crucial campaigns of 1924 the Progressives could be credited with only one indecisive victory, the narrow margin of control they had won in the Senate and Assembly. There was no single Progressive movement in California in 1924 in the sense of a group espousing a common ideology and committed to a common program—perhaps there never had been.[63] Yet the major challenges to the economy-based conservatism that had come to dominate the politics of the state were raised by leaders who were politically rooted in the reform battles of the preceding decade. Divisions among the leaders did not prevent the formation of a series of coalitions around specific issues, ranging from the near unanimous support of Progressives in the battle for control of the legislature to the core of determined radicals who provided the momentum for the La Follette campaign. As the following chart (classifying public declarations of support or non-support of the four issues in 1924 by nineteen Progressive leaders mentioned in this article) indicates, there was considerable overlap in the four coalitions and few were the Progressives who were active on only a single issue.

THE PROGRESSIVE COALITIONS OF 1924*

	La Follette	*Water and Power*	*Johnson Primary*	*State Campaign*
Seth Brown	X	X	X	
John R. Haynes	X	X		X
Katherine P. Edson	X		X	
Franklin Hichborn	X	X	X	X
William Kent	X	X	O	X
Clyde Seavey	X	X	X	X
C. K. McClatchy	X	X	X	X
Phil Swing	X		X	X
Rudolph Spreckels	X	X		X
Franck Havenner	X		X	
George Pardee	O	X	O	X
Herbert Jones		X	X	X
Albert Boynton	O	O	X	X
J. N. Inman			X	X
Charles Neumiller	O		X	X
C. C. Young	O		X	X
Hiram Johnson			X	X
Will C. Wood			X	X
Chester Rowell	O		O	X

*Legend: X = publicly supported; O = publicly opposed; blank = public stand not known

The coalitions of Progressive leaders were responsible for whatever dynamism remained in California politics in the nineteen twenties. Functioning as the major opposition in the election of 1924, they delineated alternatives and kept political dialogue from freezing into a sterile series of choices between various shadings of the status quo. For some of the leaders, those who had political sinecures or political ambitions, the battle was a holding operation—that of defending achievements of the past. To a few like Rudolph Spreckels, John R. Haynes, William Kent, or Franck Havenner, the challenge was to project their Progressive principles to confront new problems and new responsibilities.

NOTES

1. Arthur S. Link, "What Happened to the Progressive Movement in the 1920s?" *American Historical Review*, LXIV (July, 1959), 833-51; Jackson K. Putnam, "The Persistence of Progressivism in the 1920s: The Case of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (November, 1966), 395-411; Otis L. Graham, Jr., "Postwar Progressivism," *The Twenties: The Critical Issues*, ed. Joan Hoff Wilson (Boston, 1972), 14-25; John L. Shover (ed.), *Politics of the Nineteen Twenties* (Waltham, Mass., 1970).

2. George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (1st paperback ed.; Chicago, 1963), 93; Alexander Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIV (November, 1965), 421-38; Michael P. Rogin and John L. Shover, *Political Change in California* (Westport, Conn., 1970), 62-89.

3. Mowry, 277-80.

4. Harry Chandler, editor of the *Los Angeles Times*.

5. Hiram Johnson to Katherine Phillips Edson, May 28, 1924, Edson papers, Special Collections Department, U.C.L.A. Library, Box 1, folder 14.

6. Mowry, 201, 284.

7. *Labor Clarion* (San Francisco), October 13, 1916.

8. Hiram Johnson to Chester Rowell, March 19, 1917, Rowell papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. References to box and file are not included when item is included in the collection's index.

9. C. C. Moore, Johnson's opponent in the 1922 Senatorial primary.

10. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, August 4, 1924, Johnson papers, Bancroft Library.

11. Mowry, 288; Rowell to Edward H. Hamilton, June 23, 1922; Rowell papers.

12. Franklin Hichborn, "California Politics, 1891-1939" (unpublished MSS, Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles), 1717. Hereinafter cited Hichborn.

13. *Ibid.*, 1718.

14. Mowry, 284. Gilman Ostrander, *The Prohibition Movement in California, 1848-1933* (Berkeley, 1957), 155; Hichborn, 1723-50.

15. The state budget had increased modestly until 1917 when it jumped 90% over the preceding biennium. This initiated a process of budget incrementation that continued through the twenties. Under the provisions of the Plehn tax system adopted in 1911 general revenues from property taxes were assigned to local and county governments and all revenue for state operations was derived from taxes on utilities, bank stocks and corporate franchises. Hence revenues for the increased state budget had to come from business sources. Putnam, *loc. cit.*, 400-02.

16. Hichborn, 1826-33.

17. Ibid., 1928; Ronald Chinn, "Structure and Function of the Democratic Party in California" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1957), 15-17.

18. Hichborn, 2294.

19. Putnam, *loc. cit.*, 404-06.

20. Ibid., 406-08; Russell M. Posner, "The Progressive Voters' League, 1923-1926," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI (September, 1957), 151-61.

21. Hichborn, 2151.

22. Posner, *loc. cit.*, 254-55.

23. Russell M. Posner, "State Politics and the Bank of America, 1920-1934" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1956), 134.

24. Hiram Johnson to C. K. McClatchy, July 30, 1923, Johnson papers.

25. Subsequently president of the North Dakota Farmers' Holiday Association and Congressman-at-large from North Dakota.

26. Hichborn, 2143; Hiram Johnson to Franck Havenner, May 10, 1924, Johnson papers.

27. *New York Times*, April 26, 1933, 3.

28. Robert James Maddox, "Keeping Cool with Coolidge," *Journal of American History*, LIII (March, 1967), 772-80.

29. *New York Times*, March 21, 1924, 2.

30. *Ibid.*, April 10, 1924, p. 1; *San Francisco Chronicle*, March 28, 1924.

31. Hiram Johnson to Hiram, Jr. and Archibald Johnson, April 6, April 15, 1924, Johnson papers.

32. Hiram Johnson to Young Man's Republican League of Los Angeles, April 20, 1924, Johnson papers.

33. *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1924.

34. Copy in Johnson papers, Part III, Carton 10.

35. May 8, 1924.

36. He tallied 34.5% in the eight counties of Southern California: Imperial, Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, San Diego, Santa Barbara and Ventura; 54.1% in the balance of the state.

37. Rogin and Shover, 62-89.

38. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1924; *Sacramento Bee*, May 24, 1924.

39. *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 25, 1924.

40. Posner, *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXVI, 257; Hichborn, 2157-59. Republican nomination was virtually tantamount to election. The Democratic party was defunct at the state level and most Republican legislative candidates crossfiled so that the winner was the nominee of both parties. See Robert E. Hennings, "California Democratic Politics in the Period of Republican Ascendancy," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXI (August, 1962), 267-81.

41. *Sacramento Bee*, August 23, 1924; *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 26, 1924.

42. Hichborn, 2272-84.

43. Putnam, *loc. cit.*, 406-08.

44. Hichborn, 2143-87; *Sacramento Bee*, September 20, 1924.

45. *New York Times*, September 15, 1924, p. 3; Rowell to Mary E. Gibson, August 25, 1924, Rowell papers. Spreckels noted in reply that Rowell had for a short time in 1912 been president of the LaFollette League of California and had eulogized him

then as a "conservative, constructive statesman." *New York Times*, September 17, 1924. See also Chester Rowell, "Why I Shall Vote for Coolidge," *New Republic*, XL (October 29, 1924), 218-23; Alan Tavig, "A Disputed Legacy: Roosevelt Progressives and the LaFollette Campaign of 1924," *Mid-America*, XXIII (January, 1971), 44-64.

46. *New York Times*, September 14, 1924, 1.

47. Johnson to Frank P. Doherty, October 9, 1924; to C. K. McClatchy, August 21, 1924, Johnson papers.

48. *New York Times*, October 24, 1924, 3.

49. Johnson to Harold Ickes, October 8, 1924. Kenneth C. MacKay, *The Progressive Movement of 1924* (New York, 1947), 195, is in error in stating that Johnson endorsed La Follette. The misinterpretation, current in 1924, apparently arose from a typographical error in the *San Francisco Call* by which it was inferred that Johnson's criticism of the Supreme Court decision was an endorsement of La Follette.

50. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 5, October 3, 1924; Posner, "State Politics and the Bank of America," 195.

51. *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 17, 1924.

52. *New York Times*, October 25, 1924, 10.

53. Frank P. Doherty to Hiram Johnson, October 13, 1924, Johnson papers.

54. *New York Times*, October 10, 1924, 6.

55. John B. Elliott to William Gibbs McAdoo, September 2, 1924; Rudolph V. Whiting to McAdoo, November 4, 1924, McAdoo papers, Box 306, 308, Library of Congress.

56. MacKay, 274.

57. Richard M. Scammon, ed., *America at the Polls* (Pittsburgh, 1965), 57-58.

58. The text of the initiative is in Frank C. Jordan, compiler, *Statement of Vote at the General Election held November 4, 1924* (Sacramento, 1924).

59. Robert deRoos, *The Thirsty Land* (Palo Alto, 1948), 20-21; Mary Montgomery and Marion Clawson, *History of Legislation and Policy Formation of the Central Valley Project*, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics (Berkeley, 1946), 21-25.

60. Hichborn, 2224-71.

61. *Ibid.*, 2014-32.

62. The state never financed water development. No attempt was made to market the bonds authorized by the legislature and upheld on an initiative in 1933—the federal government assumed the cost. deRoos, 34-40.

63. Peter G. Filene, "An Obituary for 'The Progressive Movement'," *American Quarterly*, XXII (Spring, 1970), 20-34.

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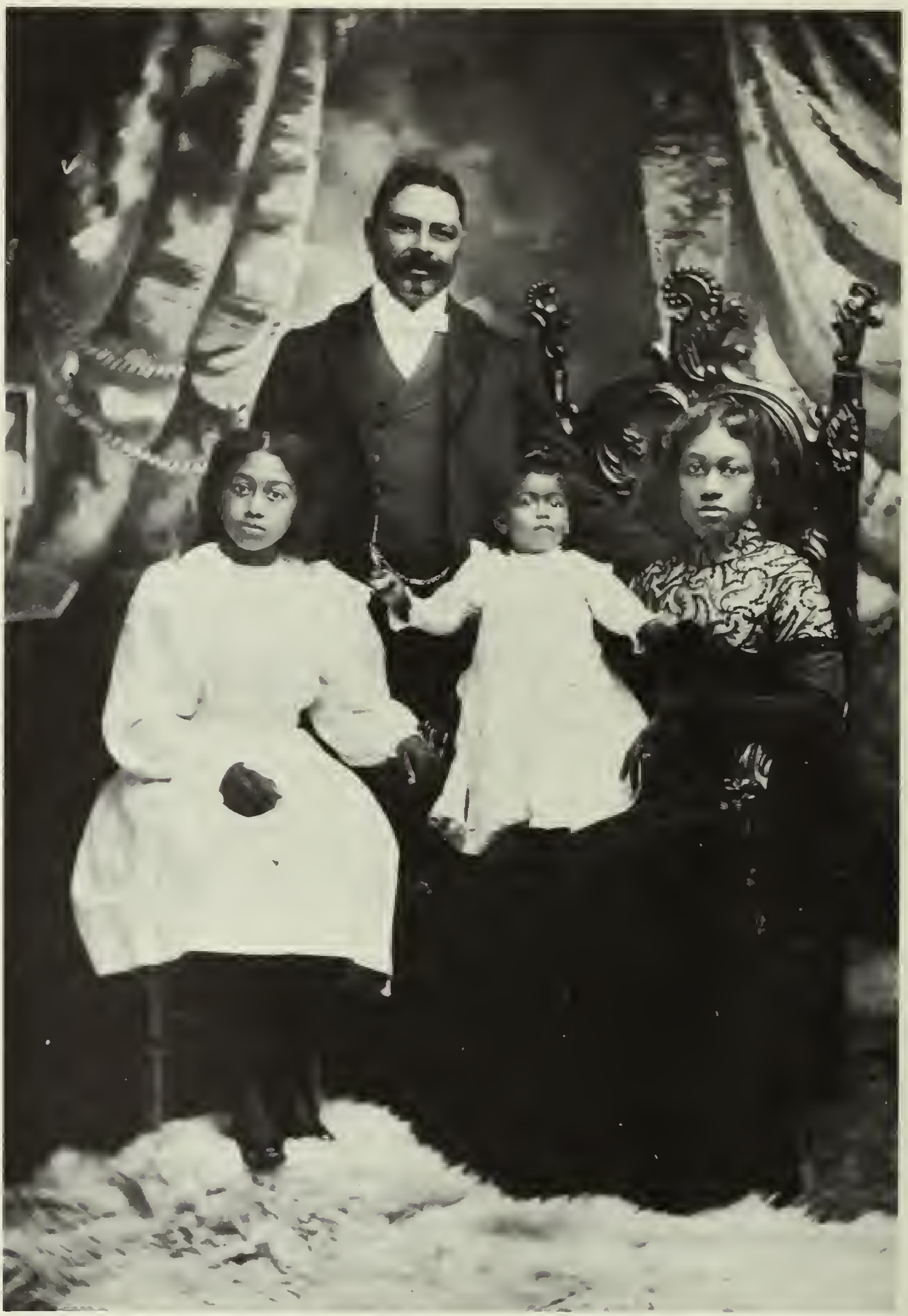
Black Ahab: William T. Shorey, Whaling Master

When one thinks of a whaling master, he usually envisions a dour and taciturn New Englander, born in some place like Provincetown, Fairhaven, or Newburyport, and sailing in the mid-nineteenth century out of Nantucket, Sag Harbor, or New Bedford. Captain William T. Shorey, however, was an ebullient and articulate Negro, a native of the British West Indies, who sailed from the Golden Gate, and who plied his fascinating trade through the first decade of the twentieth century. According to contemporary accounts he was the only black captain on the Pacific Coast[1]—which makes his intriguing life story all the more unique.

Shorey was born on the island of Barbados in 1859. His father was a Scottish sugar planter and his mother, Rosa Frazier, described as "a beautiful creole lady," a West Indian. As the oldest of a family of eight children, it was necessary for Shorey to begin working at an early age; and when still quite young he was apprenticed to a plumber.[2] Although slavery had been abolished on Barbados in 1834, the opportunities for a "colored man" were still limited.

Sidney Greenfield comments that the United States beckoned as the land of promise "for the many Barbadians who found little to attract them on the rigidly organized sugar island."[3] Also the sea apparently had a strong natural attraction for Shorey, as it did for many young men reared on the island, and he shipped as a cabin boy on a vessel bound for Boston. The captain of the ship, an Englishman, "took a fancy to him" and taught him the rudiments of navigation, a subject which he continued to study avidly under the direction of Captain Whiffer D. Leach of Provincetown.[4]

Herman Melville, the foremost chronicler of whaling, has stated that "islanders seem to make the best whalemen;" and Shorey was to prove this true. He shipped on a whaler for the first time in the mid 1870's. The whaling industry in the United States had passed its apogée two decades earlier. From humble beginnings at Easthampton and Southampton on Long Island in the mid-seventeenth century, whaling burgeoned over the ensuing decades, and by the time that the United States declared its independence



Captain William T. Shorey, his wife Julia, and daughters Zenobia and Victoria pose in an Oakland studio at about the turn of the century. A third child, William, Jr., was born in 1903. As in many other whaling families, Mrs. Shorey and the children sometimes accompanied the skipper on his voyages.

it was one of the nation's most important industries. Nantucket was the leading whaling port throughout the eighteenth century, and on the eve of the revolution, the little island off the Massachusetts coast had a fleet which virtually equaled that of all the other North American ports. However, New Bedford, which took up whaling seriously in 1818, rapidly surpassed Nantucket and within a few decades dominated the American whaling scene. This meant that a small New England town was the cynosure of the whaling world, for by 1850, when Melville wrote the whaling classic *Moby Dick*, "the supremacy of American whaling had been established beyond question," and U. S. ships were taking ten thousand whales annually.[5]

The golden age of American whaling was to be relatively brief. The discovery of oil in Pennsylvania by Edwin L. Drake in 1859 marked the genesis of a vast industry whose competitive products would ultimately destroy much of whaling's *raison d'être*. The Civil War also dealt New England whaling a severe blow. The Confederate raiders *Alabama* and *Shenandoah* decimated the Northern whaling fleet, the former sinking fourteen ships, and the latter accounting for thirty-four. These depredations were to have a significant effect on William Shorey's career, for the losses were to be a factor in the shift of the bulk of the whaling industry from New England to the West Coast.

Not only war, but the ravages of nature struck the American whaling fleet at the very time when William Shorey was on the threshold of his career. In 1871 sixty-eight whaleships were lost in the Arctic ice, including twenty-two from New Bedford alone. In 1876, the year Shorey made his maiden voyage on a whaler, the Arctic again claimed a large number of ships.

In the period before the mid-nineteenth century, the whaling industry was largely monopolized by native-born Americans, "with the Yankee of the New England seaboard as the dominant type."[6] However, by the time that Shorey became involved in whaling, only one-third of the crews were American born, a fact that probably aided him in his rapid rise through the ranks. The crews by this time were drawn from every race and more than a score of nations. This change in the ethnic and racial composition of the crews can be explained by a number of factors. During the period in the late nineteenth century when whaling was becoming a moribund trade, other facets of the national economy were booming; wages and working conditions in general were improving, while the reverse was occurring in the whaling industry.

Whaling had always been a very difficult, demanding, and dangerous occupation. Crewmen were frequently maimed or killed in pursuit of leviathan. Work on board a whaling ship was hard, unpleasant, and tedious. Living quarters were cramped and dirty. The food was tasteless and often literally rotten. Discipline was harsh. The pay was very low, and the crew had to buy necessities at exorbitant rates. Seamen frequently returned from a cruise of several years' duration with only a few dollars to their credit, and in many cases actually in debt. Given these conditions, it is little wonder that when better paying, less hazardous, and more appealing jobs became available the crews of the whaling ships became largely composed of those at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder.

E. Keble Chatterton states that the whaler's life "was likely to appeal only to three classes of men: those who had been compelled to leave the land to avoid gaol or starvation, those who thought they were going to see the world and gain adventures, and those who were determined to work their way up until they owned a whaling ship of their own."[7] All three factors were to some degree operative in Shorey's case. First, as a Negro in an age in which racial prejudice and discrimination were very prevalent, the number of occupations in which he might hope to find acceptance and success was somewhat limited. Also, there had always been a rough sort of democracy on board a whaler, where a man was accepted for what he could do, rather than on the color of his skin or national origin. Second, for a boy who had grown up in the sequestered confines of the island of Barbados, the chance to travel widely and see the world must have had a strong appeal. Third, Shorey did have a real determination to work his way up, and he was highly successful in this endeavor.

Shorey shipped on his first whaling voyage in 1876 from Provincetown, Massachusetts. He sailed as a "greenhand" but returned as a boat steerer—a considerably more important member of the crew. On one of his early cruises Shorey almost lost his life while pursuing a sperm whale. "Evidently enraged," he related years later, "the whale attacked first one boat, smashing it, then a second one, and then attacked the one I was in. By good fortune we were able to fire a bomb into him, which, exploding, killed him and saved us."[8] Undaunted by such experiences, Shorey pressed on with his whaling career, "a business," Melville comments in *Omoo*, "peculiarly fitted to attract the most reckless seamen of all nations."

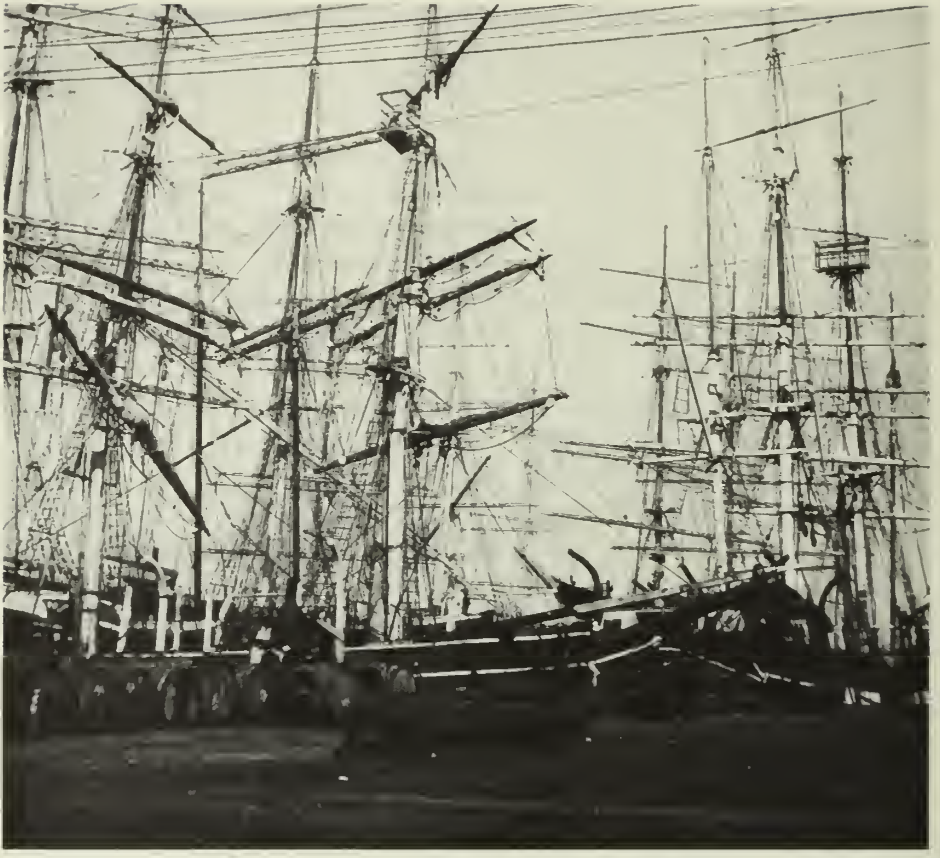
His rise through the ranks was a rapid one—attesting to his intelligence, skill, and determination. By 1880 he had become an officer. He sailed from Boston on November 8 as third mate on the *Emma F. Herriman*, and was promoted to first officer by the end of the voyage. The *Herriman* was a fairly typical whaler, although somewhat larger than the average[9] at 385 tons and 118 feet in length.[10] The cruise lasted for more than three years, which was not an unusual length of time for a whaling voyage. During this cruise, the *Herriman* traversed the North and South Atlantic, put in on the west coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean, and sailed on to Australia and Tasmania, through the Tasman Sea into the South Pacific and across to the west coast of South America, calling at Chile, Peru, and Panama before proceeding to San Francisco. This cruise must have been a memorable one for Shorey, not only because it was the first time he sailed as an officer, but also because it gave him his first glimpse of San Francisco, which was to be his home port for the remainder of his lengthy career.

Shorey shipped again aboard the *Herriman* in 1884 and 1885, sailing as second and then as first officer on ten-month voyages, which were typical of West Coast whaling. Then in 1886, only ten years after beginning his whaling career, he made the great step to the coveted position of command —thus becoming "the only colored captain on the Pacific Coast."[11] This was a great tribute to Shorey's ability and stature among his fellow seamen, for the whaling captain had to be a man of many and varied talents. He had to be an experienced and skilled sailor, an excellent navigator, a shrewd trader, an intelligent and forceful leader, and able to assume all kinds of responsibility. "During the course of an average voyage," Elmo Hohman writes, the whaling master "was almost certain to act as physician, surgeon, lawyer, diplomat, financial agent, entrepreneur, taskmaster, judge [and] peacemaker. . . ."[12] Shorey possessed all the requisite qualifications and was to prove himself one of the most able practitioners of this demanding profession.

At this stage in his life Shorey may well have resembled the swarthy "Handsome Sailor," described in the opening lines of Melville's *Billy Budd* who "with the off-hand unaffectedness of natural regality . . . seemed to accept the spontaneous homage of his shipmates." He was certainly an attractive man, as numerous photographs in the possession of his daughter attest; and he was known for his charming manner. With these attributes he succeeded in winning the hand of Julia Ann Shelton, the talented daughter of one of the leading Negro families of San Francisco; and they cruised to the Hawaiian Islands in the *Herriman* on their honeymoon. The captain left his young wife in Honolulu and continued his whaling voyage to the Sea of Japan and the Okhotsk Sea, returning with a valuable cargo of 150 barrels of sperm oil, 420 barrels of whale oil, and 5000 pounds of whalebone.[13]

In 1889, Shorey took command of the brig *Alexander*. At 136 tons and 87 feet the *Alexander* was small for a whaler, but recently built (1886) by J. W. Crowell of Cambridge, Maryland; she was a trim and graceful vessel. Shorey made two successful cruises with the *Alexander* in 1889 and 1890. Then disaster struck in 1891, and the *Alexander* was sunk in the Arctic ice pack off St. Paul's Island (part of the Pribilofs) in the Bering Sea.[14] Shorey's skill and resourcefulness, however, managed to save the entire crew.

The owner of the *Alexander* certainly did not lose faith in Shorey, and upon his return to San Francisco immediately placed him in command of another vessel, the *Andrew Hicks*. The *Hicks* (see illustration) was built



The Andrew Hicks, *long under Captain Shorey's command, here lies with a cluster of old time whalers at a San Francisco pier in 1904. The* Hicks *was built at Fairhaven, Mass., in 1867—when sailing whalers and huge oil barrels on the wharves were a common sight in New England ports.*

by J. Delano at Fairhaven, Massachusetts in 1867,[15] and by the time Shorey took command the ship had already endured a score of years of hard service. This had taken its toll. In 1889 her captain had written to Captain David B. Adams, a part owner of the vessel: "The old *Hicks* is about the same old sixpence only getting mighty shaky; her rigging is in terrible shape about ready to fall off her. I shouldn't be surprised to see the mainmast go over the side any day. She has the same old leaks only worse than last year, twenty minutes a day steady; it's forward,somewhere; you can hear it running in but can't tell where."[16] In spite of this dismal description, and perhaps as a result of his skillful seamanship, the *Hicks* completed eight successful voyages under Shorey's command in the decade between 1892 and 1902.

Although certainly no monomaniac, and unlike Ahab in certain other respects, Shorey pursued the whale with much of the same relentless determination. In 1894, for example, he undertook two voyages within the same year in command of different ships. He sailed on February 2, 1894 aboard the *Hicks* on a cruise to the North Pacific, which brought him back through the Golden Gate on November 6. Then after only spending less than a month ashore, he headed out on the *Gay Head*, one of the most famous of the San Francisco whalers. This voyage to the North Pacific in 1894-1895 proved to be one of the most successful of his career.[17]

He returned, however, to the command of the *Hicks* in 1896 for six more voyages. An examination of the crew lists and shipping papers of the last three of these voyages reveals some interesting information. Writing at mid-century, Melville stated that "at the present day not one in two of the many thousand men before the mast in the American fishery are American born. . . ." Half a century later there were even fewer native-born Americans engaged in whaling, as is evidenced by Shorey's crews. Like Melville's *Pequod*, the *Hicks* had crew members from France, Portugal, Denmark, England, Ireland, China, the South Seas, and islands all over the globe.[18] However, in addition Shorey's crews included men from Austria, Germany, Poland, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, Canada, Australia, and British Guiana.[19] They were not only drawn from many nations, but many races as well. This is quite evident from the crew lists, but it appears even more vividly in a contemporary account, which describes the crew of the *Hicks* as "the most heterogeneous that has made port in many a day. Bright, active Americans are in the forecastle with rugged Northmen, yellow-skinned Chinese, brown Esquimaux and kinky-haired sailors as black as ever walked the plank of a river packet."[20] The idea of a ship's crew as a microcosm of a world society has frequently been used as a literary device, as Melville used it in *Moby Dick*; but in the case of Shorey's ships it was literally true. Like the world, the ship had its share of friction. Although the newspaper account of the 1901 voyage of the *Hicks* states that "all hands were friendly throughout the long and tedious cruise," this was not the case; and one seaman was stabbed and seriously wounded by another sailor.[21]

At the time that Melville first sailed aboard the *Acushnet* in 1841 as a youngster of twenty-two, the majority of whaling crew members were young men like himself. Hohman states that during this period there were many ships "with crews whose average ages were little in excess of twenty years," and that it "was exceptional to find a man of thirty in a forecastle. . . ."[22] Shorey's crews, however, were considerably older—with many men in their thirties and an average age of about 29.

After the 1902 voyage aboard the *Hicks*, Shorey took command of another vessel. The *Hicks*, however, in spite of her bedraggled condition, remained in service for another fifteen years before foundering off Cape

Henry, Virginia, while in the merchant service, to which she had been transferred the year before. As Lloyd Hare comments, "one likes to think that her stout oaken heart broke because she no longer chased the whale. It is equally possible that her merchant crew was not versed in the science of coddling a decrepit whaler."[23]

Shorey's new and final command was the whaling bark *John and Winthrop*, built at Bath, Maine, in 1876 by Goss, Sawyer, and Packard.[24] Shorey made five voyages in the *John and Winthrop* between 1903 and 1908.

His most exciting voyage occurred in 1907. While returning from the Okhotsk Sea, the ship experienced two fierce typhoons. Although all sails had been taken in and the ship was under bare spars, second mate Joseph Manuel reported that the vessel "was driven along at a speed of fifteen knots. The ship was battened down and all hands, as far as possible, remained below. The wind and sea increased in fury, smashed the davits and carried away one of the boats, besides sweeping everything off the deck. For thirty long hours the tempest lasted, during which no one ate or slept. The man at the wheel, when the storm was at its height, was blown against the bulwarks and severely bruised and shaken." The second typhoon carried away two more boats and all the sails, and large waves swept over the decks. Were this not enough, when near the Bowsail Channel the *John and Winthrop* encountered a thick fog and when it lifted the ship was only twenty feet off a reef. The crew testified that "nothing but Captain Shorey's coolness and clever seamanship saved a wreck."[25]

Shorey sailed on his final voyage in January of 1908. En route to the Pacific whaling grounds he put in at Honolulu, where he was very enthusiastically received. Melville comments in *Redburn* that "whalemen are far more familiar with the wonders of the deep than any other class of seamen." Certainly this was true of Captain Shorey, and he was renowned and sought after as a raconteur. A newspaper reporter who did an article on Shorey at this time stated: "He has many reminiscences to recount, and the waterfront has been reveling in whaling adventures as it might if it had suddenly taken to reading *The Cruise of the Cachelot* and other of Frank Bullen's whaling stories."[26] Unfortunately for posterity, Shorey was content to display his whaling knowledge and eloquence orally, otherwise we might be reading today whaling chronicles by a black counterpart of Melville.

Actually Captain Shorey might have done well to turn to literature at this juncture, for whaling had become a moribund trade. Shorey recounted that "in the old days there were as many as three hundred whalers"[27] in the harbor at Honolulu, but by 1908 the arrival of the *John and Winthrop* was cause for special attention. The whaling bark had become an anachronism, and whaling a dying industry in the United States. Pressed by stiff competition from other products, the price of whalebone and oil steadily declined until it was no longer profitable to outfit a whaler.

Shorey retired in 1908 and spent the remaining decade of his life ashore in Oakland, California. He continued to keep his Master's license active[28] until the year he died, perhaps still hoping to put to sea once again and to die in harness like Ahab while still in full pursuit of leviathan.

The author wishes to acknowledge the kind assistance of the following institutions and individuals: The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif., particularly Dr. Edwin H. Carpenter; The Bancroft Library of the University of California, particularly Mr. John B. Tompkins; The Stanford University Library; The California Historical Society; The San Francisco Public Library; The Federal Records Center, San Francisco, particularly Mr. Arthur Abel; The Oakland Museum, particularly Mr. Thomas Frye; The San Francisco Maritime Museum, particularly Mrs. Matilda Dring and Mr. Albert Harmon; Mr. James Abajian, former Librarian of the California Historical Society; and especially Captain Shorey's daughter, Mrs. Victoria G. Francis of Berkeley, Calif.

NOTES

1. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1907.

2. Obituary, *San Francisco Newspaper Union* (April, 1919), corroborated by interview with Captain Shorey's daughter, Mrs. Victoria G. Francis of Berkeley, Calif. His birthplace is incorrectly listed in other sources as Provincetown, Mass. (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Feb. 25, 1908) and India (obituary, unknown paper —possibly *San Francisco Elevator*, in the possession of Mrs. Francis). Both obituaries give his age at death as sixty years. See also Delilah Leontium Beasley, *The Negro Trail-Blazers of California* (Los Angeles, 1919), 125.

3. Sidney M. Greenfield, *English Rustics in Black Skins* (New Haven, 1966), 59.

4. Between 1863 and 1874 Captain Leach commanded a number of whalers out of Provincetown, including the "*Emporium*," "*Montezuma*," "*Mary D. Leach*," "*Sassacus*," and "*Charles Thompson*"—Federal Writer's Project, *Directory of Whaling Masters* (New Bedford, 1938), 181.

5. Foster Rhea Dulles, *Lowered Boats: A Chronicle of American Whaling* (New York, 1933); Elmo Paul Hohman, *The American Whaleman: A Study of Life and Labor in the Whaling Industry* (New York, 1928). Dulles claims Easthampton as the original whaling port; Hohman contends it was Southampton.

6. Hohman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

7. E. Keble Chatterton, *Whalers and Whaling* (Philadelphia, 1926), 107.

8. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, *op. cit.*

9. Reginald B. Hegarty warns of speaking in too general terms about whalers, saying that "no two were exactly alike in size, shape, or sailing qualities. Each vessel had different characteristics that were easily recognizable at great distances by those familiar with the various whalers"—*Birth of a Whaleship* (New Bedford, 1964), 19. Hegarty, who made a detailed study over many years of whaleships' specifications, states that average whaleship measured about 300 tons and 100-108 ft. in length.

10. *Record of American and Foreign Shipping* (New York, 1886), p. 358.

11. *San Francisco Chronicle*, November 26, 1907.

12. Hohman, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

13. Reginald B. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels Sailing from American Ports* (New Bedford, 1959), 20.

14. *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping* (London, 1891); Reginald B. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 27.

15. *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping* (1898-99), Vol. II (London, 1899)–several logs of the "Andrew Hicks" are in the Melville Whaling Room in the Free Public Library at New Bedford, Mass.

16. Cited by Lloyd C. M. Hare, *Salted Tories: The Story of the Whaling Fleets of San Francisco* (Mystic, Conn., 1960), 102.

17. He brought back a cargo of 500 barrels of oil and 9000 pounds of whalebone. Reginald B. Hegarty, *Returns of Whaling Vessels*, 31.

18. Herman Melville, *Moby Dick*, Modern Library Edition (N.Y., 1950), 118; for the composition of the *Pequod's* crew, see especially 169ff.

19. Crew lists of the *Andrew Hicks*, voyages of 1900, 1901, and 1902. Federal Records Center, San Francisco.

20. *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 31, 1901.

21. Affidavit, signed by John C. Baird, Dept. of Justice, Office of U. S. Attorney, District of Hawaii, March, 1901; Federal Records Center, San Francisco.

22. Hohman, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

23. Lloyd C. M. Hare, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

24. *Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping* (1903-04), Vol. II (London, 1904).

25. *San Francisco Chronicle*, Nov. 26, 1907.

26. *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 2, 1908.

27. *Ibid.*

28. His last Master's license, dated November 21, 1918, is on loan from Captain Shorey's daughter, Mrs. Victoria Francis, to the Oakland Museum.

Francis J. Weber

Archivist for the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and author of numerous books on the history of the Catholic Church in California.

A California Miniography

Miniature books, representing as they do an ultimate accomplishment in printing, illustrating, and binding, exemplify the craftsman's technical and manual dexterity for cutting, casting, and setting midgetized letters. In many cases, the initial purpose served by miniature books, some as old as movable type, has given way to the more mundane pursuit of satisfying mini-bibliophiliacs, those "Lilliputians with whale-sized appetites for literary plankton." It occasionally happens, however, that these "typographical curiosities" possess an intrinsic value apart and beyond their mere artistic qualities. This bibliographical treatise, interesting as it may be to microphiles, is aimed primarily at "exposing" a number of minuscule Californiana titles which have, for one reason or another, rather effectively eluded the notice of reviewers, librarians, collectors, and other Western Americana enthusiasts.

Carol Bradley. *Franciscanalia.* San Francisco: The Bird in Hand Press. 1966. No pagin. 3⅛ x 2⅛. A group of six poems about San Francisco, printed in a press run of 225 copies. Designed, printed, and bound by Bruce Bradley, with illuminated initials by Winifred Denyer.

A. A. Bynon. *1877—Business Directory of Oakland, Alameda and Berkeley: To Which is Added Bynon's History of California.* Oakland: Bynon & Sherman. 1877. 92 & 128 p. 2¾ x 2. The Arcade Printing House prepared several variations of the proto-miniature book printed in California, the historical part of which was envisioned as the first in a series on Western states.

A. A. Bynon. *The Constitutional Convention of 1878. State of California.* San Francisco: James T. White & Co. 1878. 148 p. 3⅛ x 2⅜. An historical treatise following closely the format of the author's earlier work on the area's growth and evolvement.

Helen Dawson (comp.). *Susan & Parker Smith.* Pasadena. 1970. No pagin. 2½ x 1½. To the twenty-one copies of this collection of wrapping papers from showers and wedding gifts given to Mary Susan Dawson and Parker Ewing Smith, on the occasion of their wedding, bound in leather by Bela Blau, are added title pages by William M. Cheney and a tipped color picture of the newlyweds.

Charles N. Earl. *An Open Letter.* Los Angeles: Peggy Christian. 1971. 12 p. 1¾ x 1¼. Two hundred copies of this letter, written on November 29, 1887, to the Republican City Central Committee as a complaint about endorsement and registration fees, were printed by William M. Cheney at the press in the Gatehouse.

Herbert Fahey. *Early Printing in California.* San Francisco: Club of Printing House Craftsmen. 1949. 63 p. 3¾ x 4. Bound in red cloth with a frontispiece facsimile of José Figueroa's *Manifesto,* this book sketches certain printing activities between 1833 and 1850, emphasizing Agustín Zamorano, the *Californian,* and the California *Star.*

Lee Farmer *et al. The Story of Printing in Los Angeles.* Los Angeles: The Los Angeles Club of Printing House Craftsmen. 1949. 54 p. 3⅞ x 1⅝. A delineation of local printing highspots. Attractively bound by Frank Hasencamp.

John Friend. *Captain Jack.* Long Beach: The Seashore Press. 1963. 32 p. 1⅛ x 1¾. Reminiscences of a sea-going bookseller, principally concerned with the trade in California's southland. Bound in full brown morocco.

Dudley Gordon. *The Birch Bark Poems of Charles F. Lummis.* Los Angeles: Karen and Susan Dawson. 1969. 27 p. 3 x 2½. To this description of the initial publication of the great Western American author, editor, historian, and librarian, are added two original birch bark leaves.

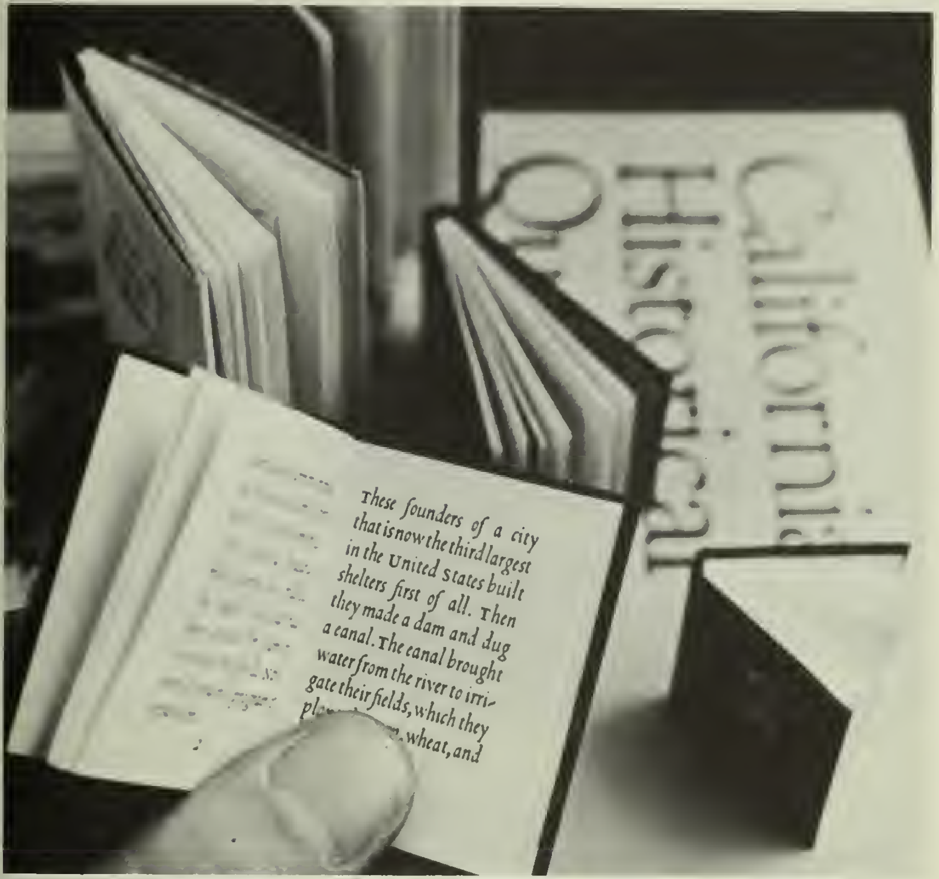
Francis F. Guest, O.F.M. *The Symbolism of Santa Barbara Presidio.* Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Mission Archives-Library. 1968. 40 p. 2 x 1⅝. This interestingly-written treatise, printed by Grant Dahlstrom with a red and black frontispiece and bound by Bela Blau in hand-tooled green crushed morocco with raised bands and simualted hinges, portrays the final link in the mighty chain of conquest forged by Iberian soldiers to symbolize the culture and civilization associated with Spain's expansionary activities in the New World.

Charles Elmer Jenney. *California Nights' Entertainment.* Edinburgh: Valentine & Anderson, LTD., n.d. xii + 107 p. 3⅜ x 2½. Sixty previously published poems generously-illustrated, and bound in attractive plaid silk.

John Muir. *Climb the Mountains.* Pasadena: Karen and Susan Dawson. 1965. No pagin. 1⅞ x 1½. In this essay, printed by Glen Dawson and bound by Bela Blau in brown morocco, the famous Scotch naturalist, explorer, author, and conservationist describes how "willingly Nature poses herself upon photographer's plates." To the initial eighty copies, each with the 5¢ John Muir Commemorative stamp, was added, in 1966, a second edition, reset and printed by William M. Cheney.

Douglas C. McMurtie. *Pioneer Printers of the Far West.* San Francisco: San Francisco Club of Printing House Craftsmen. 1940. 57 p. 3⅞ x 2½. This treatise, published originally in 1933 at the Red Tower Press, is one of a series printed as souvenirs for the 21st annual convention of the International Association of Printing House Craftsmen.

Thomas Atwill Neal. *6th and Figueroa.* Goleta: Karen Dawson. 1965. 29 p. 2⅞ x 2⅛. A comic-art collection of scenes and characters along the one-time "Grasshopper Street," by a popular Southland bookseller, author, artist, and columnist. Printed by William M. Cheney, engraved by Dan Taylor, and bound by Bela Blau with decorated boards in dust wrappers.


California Historical
These founders of a city
that is now the third largest
in the United States built
shelters first of all. Then
they made a dam and dug
a canal. The canal brought
water from the river to irri-
gate their fields, which they
wheat, and

Little History of a Big City–Los Angeles, *the smallest book ever printed at the Plantin Press, measures 2 x 1½ inches, not quite the length of a man's thumb.*

Wallace Nethery. *The Pioneer & Charles Lamb.* Los Angeles. 1970. 11 p. 2⅜ x 1⅝. This description of the successful attempt to inaugurate a California journal devoted primarily to literature and the arts was reprinted from the reduced plates of the earlier 1959 edition in a press run limited to twenty-five copies.

[Lawrence Clark Powell]. *L.C.P.'s Book About Book Shops.* Los Angeles: Dawson and Boswell. 1966. 14 p. 1¾ x 1¼. A tribute to a vital and oft-overlooked phase of the Southland's culture, printed by William M. Cheney and bound by Bela Blau in full brown calf. Issued initially in November, 1965, as *Bookshops,* an eight page keepsake for the California Antiquarian Book Fair.

[Lawrence Clark Powell]. *The Sea As Seen by El Sea Powell.* Malibu: Dawson's Book Shop. 1962. 8 p. 1¾ x 1⅜. About two hundred copies of this descriptive Malibu ocean view were printed by William M. Cheney and bound by Bela Blau.

Lawrence Clark Powell. *To D.C.: Subject: The L. C. From: L.C.P.* Los Angeles. 1968. 18 p. 1¾ x 1⅛. Only twenty-five copies of this letter about the Library Council at the Los Angeles branch of the University of California were printed by William M. Cheney at The Gatehouse Press.

Miniature books—examples of the ultimate printing accomplishments—include many California titles.

William Wilcox Robinson. *Little History of a Big City—Los Angeles.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1963. 23 p. 2 x 1½. A description of scenes from the mission era to modern day freeways, handset in ten-point Narrow Bembo by Saul and Lillian Marks. Handsomely illustrated by Irene Robinson, the smallest book ever printed at the Plantin Press was issued in a limited edition of 500 copies, of which one hundred were bound in green boards by Bela Blau.

Frank J. Thomas. *Mission Cattle Brands.* Los Angeles. 1967. 60 p. 2⅞ x 2¼. One hundred copies of this illustrated account, with its twenty-four designs cut in linoleum and printed in various colors on textured kozo paper at the Tenfingers Press were bound in vellum over boards.

Frank J. Thomas. *The Myths of California Isle.* Los Angeles. 1966. 48 p. 2¾ x 2⅛. A demytholization of a long-held theory about Peninsular California, accompanied by various notes, chronologies, translations, and a bibliography. Published in a limited edition of 200 copies from handset type on dampened Rives paper at the Tenfingers Press and bound in beige linen and boards.

Bernhardt Wall. *The California Missions.* Sierra Madre. 1947. No pagin. 1¾ x 1½. This pictorial portrayal, in twenty-four plates, was printed and bound by the author in an unlimited, but not specified edition.

Bernhardt Wall. *Wallinana.* Sierra Madre. 1946. No pagin. 1¾ x 1¼. An artistic compilation of twelve leaves, advertising the compiler's publications, this handsome work contains an etching of his studio in Sierra Madre.

Francis J. Weber (ed.) *Christmas in Pastoral California.* Los Angeles: Bela Blau. 1971. 25 p. 1½ x 1¼. This account of the Pastorela, truncated from a description appearing in the Santa Barbara Daily Press, December 29, 1885, was handset, printed and bound by Bela Blau in both red and green leather.

Francis J. Weber. *An Earthquake Memoir.* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1971. 20 p. 2⅞ x 2⅛. An eye-witness report of the extensive damage inflicted on the San Fernando Valley by the temblor of February 9, 1971, printed and bound by Cathay Press Limited of Hong Kong, in a press run of 400 copies.

Francis J. Weber. *Hollywood's "Padre of the Films."* Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop. 1972. 19 p. 2⅜ x 1½. This biographical sketch, devoted to the Right Reverend John J. Devlin's work with the Motion Picture Industry, was printed by Cathay Press Limited of Hong Kong in a press run of 600 copies to commemorate the monsignor's golden sacerdotal jubilee.

Francis J. Weber. *Up 65 Years to Larchmont.* Los Angeles: Bela Blau. 1970. 30 p. 1½ x 1⅛. Three hundred copies of this historical sketch about Dawson's Bookshop, the "oldest antiquarian establishment" in Los Angeles, were handset, printed and bound in gilt-tooled, full leather by Bela Blau on the occasion of Susan Dawson's marriage to Parker E. Smith.

Francis J. Weber. *What Happened to Junípero Serra?* Los Angeles: Bela Blau. 1969. 29 p. 1¼ x 1⅞. Printed from handset type and bound in gilt-tooled, dark green morocco by Bela Blau. Tipped into each copy of this smallest book ever devoted to a philatelic theme, is a mint edition of the colorful eighty centavo airmail stamp issued by the Republic of Mexico to commemorate the 200th anniversary of California's colonization.

Emily and Norman Whytock. *Franciscan Missions of California.* Glendale. 1969. 51 p. 1⅞ x 2. Two hundred copies of this historical treatise, scheduled to coincide with California's bi-centennial, were printed by William M. Cheney and bound in beige linen cloth.

Sebastián Vizcaíno. *Jornada Principal de las Californias (Accidentes Documentados)* Mexico City: G. M. Echaniz. 1963. 80 p. 1⅞ x 1½. Three hundred copies of this documentary collection from the Archivo General de la Nación were printed for Dawson's Bookshop from handset type, by Arturo Morales Monterrubio, and bound in full, gilt-tooled red morocco with blue labels by Juan Silva.

Book Reviews

The Founding of the Russian Empire in Asia and America. By John A. Harrison. (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1971. 156 pp. $7.95.)

Reviewed by Anthony D'Agostino, *Assistant Professor of History, San Francisco State College.*

Both Russia and the United States have been described as countries whose histories have been that of migrating peoples. That very interesting notion has even inspired an attempt at a Russian application of Turner's frontier hypothesis, Donald Treadgold's *The Great Siberian Migration* of 1957. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Russia and Colonial America only partially participated in West European civilization. In the ensuing century and a half they both made strides toward the closing of that gap. But during the same period Europeans drove also across America and Siberia to meet on the Pacific coast of North America. By the year of the outbreak of the French Revolution, Spanish and Russian interests divided roughly at Nootka Sound.

John A. Harrison tells the story of the Russian side of this expansion in this short and readable essay. In it he tries to do quite a lot in extremely short compass—to describe the entire process of the "gathering of the Russian lands" from early Kievan times down to the sale of Alaska. Harrison is primarily interested in the intersection of Russian, Chinese, and Japanese interests and their great struggle to control Northeastern Asia. Here he carries on in the line of his teachers at U. C. Berkeley, Robert J. Kerner and George Lantzeff, who strove to open this area up as a new field of historical study. Harrison has not contributed anything new here but has tried instead to survey the whole story and to refer the reader to the available literature in a bibliography of 174 items.

He sticks fairly close to the description of Russia's Siberian expansion given by Lantzeff and Raymond Fisher of UCLA. He does allow himself a Turnerite view of the subject which goes somewhat beyond Treadgold's, as in the following:

> The actual process of exploration, conquest, and settlement bears a remarkable resemblance to the American exploration, conquest, and settlement of the trans-Mississippi West. Substitute Americans for Russians, the mountain men for promyshlenniks, the Northwest Company for Khabarov's Company, Bent's Fort or Fort Laramie for Tomsk or Ufa, the Blackfeet, Sioux, and Comanche for the Kirghiz, Bashkirs, and Kalmucks.

Harrison thinks both migrations were spurred by common passions, "the sense of freedom, the big sky, the handsful of facing the mountains, the rivers, the plains, . . ." He must also note that the enterprise was always kept on short rations by the Russian government even though it collected property and poll taxes, competed with merchants in whiskey, salt, tobacco, and gold and took in as much as a quarter of the state budget in revenues from the fur trade. It was trade and not territory that the Russian government sought on the Asiatic frontier.

The peoples with which the Russian forces came into contact are of interest to Harrison. He details the methods by which they were turned against each other by clever "diplomacy." Catherine the Great, he feels, treated these natives much better than the other Russian monarchs because of her "infatuation with Rousseau's concepts of the simplicity and grandeur of the savage nature." That did not stop her, however, from ruthlessly repressing Pugachev's rebellion which mobilized most of the Asian tribes against St. Petersburg.

The trading companies did not face such a strain on their capacities for statecraft in Northern America. There the problem was the maintenance of a supply of food in areas where there was no agriculture. The first steps of Russian explorers into North America came in 1730 as part of the attempt to trace the coast of the "Icy Sea" and eventually find a water route from Archangel to Kamchatka. In 1741 the second voyage of Vitus Bering reached Sitka and after that time Russians penetrated further down the Pacific coast of North America. Harrison refers to the vascillating policy of Catherine the Great on the question of the granting of monopoly in the fur trade to the Shelekhov company and the troublesome problem of determining how far England could be pushed. However far the English could be defied, they could not be undersold, so that the Russian traders had a difficult time maintaining their hold on Sitka Bay. Even more pressing was the food situation, which drove Russian ships to Bodega Bay in 1808 to attempt to establish a food base. From there they traded as far south as San Pedro. But Fort Ross and Bodega Bay never succeeded as a food base and the pressure of the Westward movement was imagined to be such that the Russian outposts would not be able to resist it. This meant that Russia must turn back from North America and concentrate on consolidating her power in the Amur Valley, from which point she now gazes warily at the People's Republic of China.

A Catalogue of the Everett D. Graff Collection of Western Americana. Compiled by Colton Storm. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press for the Newberry Library, 1968. xxv & 854 pp. Index. $37.50.)

Reviewed by THOMAS F. ANDREWS, *Assistant Professor of History, Pasadena College.*

COLTON STORM, the former curator of the Graff Collection of Western Americana, has been careful to point out that this massive, yet attractive and well-planned volume, is *not* a bibliography. It is instead a guide to about one half of the nearly 10,000 books, pamphlets, maps, broadsides and manuscripts—a remarkable collection of rare source materials—that currently enhance the already impressive holdings of the Newberry Library in Chicago. And it is significant for that very reason. Everett Graff, the donor of the collection, belonged to that notable group of rare book collectors, men like Henry R. Wagner and Thomas W. Streeter, for example, whose lives and fortunes became intertwined with the famous book sellers of the past (Wright Howes, Peter Decker, and the Eberstadt brothers), and the fabulous research libraries of the present (the Newberry, the Beinecke, and the Huntington). Even death could not still the competition and cooperation of earlier days, for the publication of the Graff Catalogue coincides nicely with the appearance of the Streeter catalogues and both add measurably to the wealth of information in the older Wagner-Camp bibliography.

What makes the Graff Catalogue so essential to collectors, bibliographers, librarians, and book sellers is common knowledge to all—the detailed descriptions and collations, the pertinent annotations, and the frequent cross references to other bibliographical works—and needs no further elaboration here. What makes the Graff Catalogue so valuable to historians of the American West, however, may not be as readily apparent. The collection obviously will prove valuable to different scholars for different reasons, depending upon what line of research they pursue. I should like to suggest one area in which the collection excels: guidebook literature of the nineteenth century. Beginning with a number of early emigrant guides, including Samuel Brown, *The Western Gazetteer* (1817), Samuel Cumings, *The Western Navigator* (1822), and John Peck, *A Guide for Emigrants* (1831), the catalogue's list of well over 150 guides continues through the familiar names connected with overland travel to Oregon and California in the forties and fifties—Hastings, Johnson and Winter, Palmer, Clayton, Ware, Child, Horn, Platt and Slater, Steele, Street, and Wadsworth—and concludes with a number of gold rush guides to the Klondike, published in the late 1890's. What makes the Graff Catalogue such an essential complement to the Wagner-Camp volume is that nearly two-thirds of the guides mentioned are either post-1865 or concerned with western regions other than the Plains and the Rockies.

Nineteenth-century guidebooks in the words of one historian were the "books that won the West." They deserve to be studied as a vital factor in shaping and directing the course of frontier settlement from the initial push through Cumberland Gap to the final surge through South Pass and over the Sierra Nevada. As promotional works, they also perpetuated a number of myths about the American West, some of which have persisted into the twentieth century. For all these reasons and more, the guidebook literature of the nineteenth century merits serious study—though it continues to be a neglected field. Happily, such a study may now begin among the rare source materials of the Graff Collection. The western historian, on his way to the archival holdings in the East, can no longer afford to by-pass the Newberry Library in Chicago. Besides, research in the Newberry is a most rewarding experience.

Lawrence Towner, as Director of the Library, Colton Storm, as curator of the collection, and all those who labored on the Graff Catalogue merit high praise and grateful thanks from the western scholarly community for this unique effort.

Troopers West, Military and Indian Affairs on the American Frontier. Edited by Ray Brandes. (San Diego: Frontier Heritage Press, 1970. 206 pp. illus. $25.00.)

Reviewed by RUDOLPH M. LAPP, *Professor of History at the College of San Mateo, and an expert in the field of black history.*

THIS ATTRACTIVE VOLUME of limited edition is an anthology of eleven selections by writers whose shared interest is the subject of the Indians of the Southwest and the various ways in which they were affected by the Anglo-Saxon and Hispanic advance in the New World.

In this reviewer's judgement four of the selections deal with the Indians as the central subject while the rest of them are concerned with white men whose activities bear on the Southwestern Indians in one way or another. Perhaps the first article dealing with the art work of Ettore De Grazia most aesthetically illustrates this latter group. Though De Grazia was neither a trooper nor an Indian, the vignette of his life and the eight superb color reproductions of his paintings of Southwestern Indians provide a brilliant opening for the book. In a sense this is a De Grazia book for his black and white illustrations are interspersed throughout the rest of the volume.

Professor Brandes, the editor, contributes the first selection that deals centrally with a prominent Indian personality. He gives us a foretaste of the projected biography of Mangas Colorados in an interesting discussion of this legendary Apache leader. This article is followed by an interesting selection on an experiment in the recruitment of the Brule Indians into a cavalry outfit called "Troop L." Insights into race relations appear here, through the experiment itself (which was generally a success) and also through the author's good use of a white soldier's diary about the Brule Indians—which shows how one racist white man changed his attitudes.

The selection on the Jicarilla Apaches was perhaps too ambitious to attempt in eleven pages. However, it was a worthwhile effort at showing the corrosive consequences of Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon encroachments on these people. The work of Mrs. Eve Ball comes the closest to being the actual voice of the Indian. Her interview with the Apache Ace, Daklugie, is full of interest and validity and gives the reader some insights into the ethics and morality of the American Indian. His remark to Mrs. Ball that, "You love gold so much you picture your Happy Place as paved with it," was most telling.

For the Indian war buffs who are not necessarily interested in the Native American there are several interesting items. Richard Dillon and Dan Thrapp present some detective work on two military events. Dillon presents an aspect of the Modoc War and Thrapp tentatively revises the location of the Battle of Turret Peak in Arizona to Skeleton Ridge some eight miles away.

The Western photography aficionado will be delighted with Robert A. Weinstein's selection on William S. Soule, the great photographer of Southwestern Indians. William Reed provides the reader with a brief but excellent biography of General William Babcock Hazen. This story of a gruff but honest man and his difficulties with the military "establishment" of his day tells us that the problem of non-political military men breaking through with the truth is not limited to the twentieth century.

The book closes with a very useful bibliography on Indian and military conflicts in the Trans-Mississippi west. The reader whose appetite will be stimulated to further reading in this area will also discover in the introduction that many of the contributors have completed or are about to complete a more thorough work in the specific subject on which they wrote for this book.

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COVER: Socialist farmhand turns the crank on a skeletal Ford truck at the Llano del Rio colony in 1915. The communal experiment in the Mojave Desert was less than a year old at the time this photograph was taken, but it had already produced a bumper crop of alfalfa. By the following year, the colony was growing ninety per cent of the food it consumed. Plagued by insufficient water supply and internal political frictions, the group migrated in 1918 to Louisiana. For a two-part account of the rise and fall of this remarkable social experiment, see pages 117 through 154. (Photograph from the collection of Paul Kagan.)

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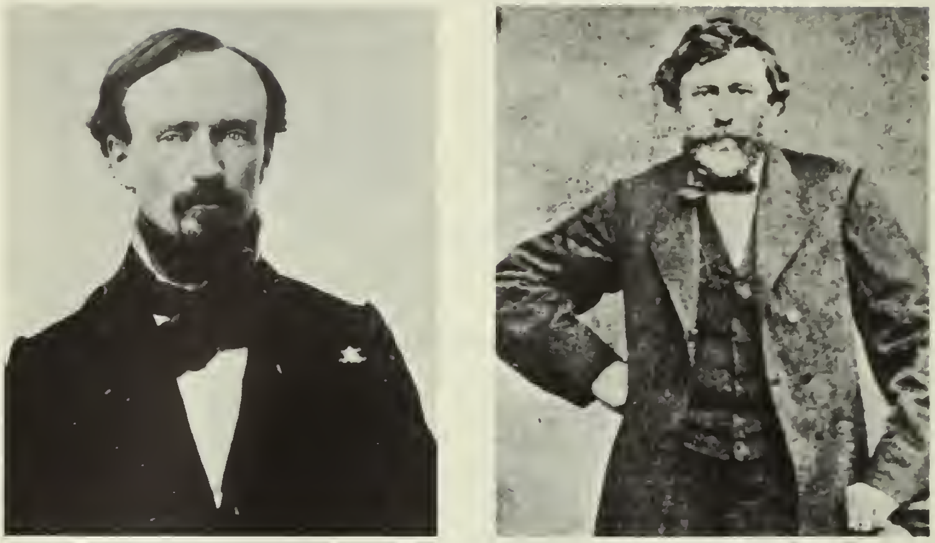
J. Ross Browne: Wine Lobbyist and Frontier Opportunist

"YOUR FELLOW CITIZEN is here in the capacity of special agent of the wine growers of California,"[1] wrote J. Ross Browne to the readers of the *Alta California* in June, 1866. Withdrawing from the confusion and tension of Washington's political circuit, the conscientious lobbyist paused to regroup his energies and to keep his followers posted on the latest developments regarding the new tax bill and how it might affect the state's wine industry. Although this report was intended for only a small segment of the *Alta*'s audience, they undoubtedly read it with a good deal of interest. As early as the fall of 1865, there was a growing uneasiness among various California vintners over the possibility that they might have to pay additional taxes the following year. At that time most of the nation was still celebrating the end of the Civil War, but to legislators peace meant that there would be outstanding bills to be paid and so they were laying the groundwork for an extensively revised revenue code. Thus by the spring of 1866, as the likelihood of major tax increases grew even more evident, there were renewed efforts to revive the defunct California Wine Growers' Association in hopes of alerting the industry to the impending danger and initiating a course of effective action that would allay this threat. The result of this concern provides a little known chapter in the life of J. Ross Browne—his unlikely involvement in the early development of California's wine industry.

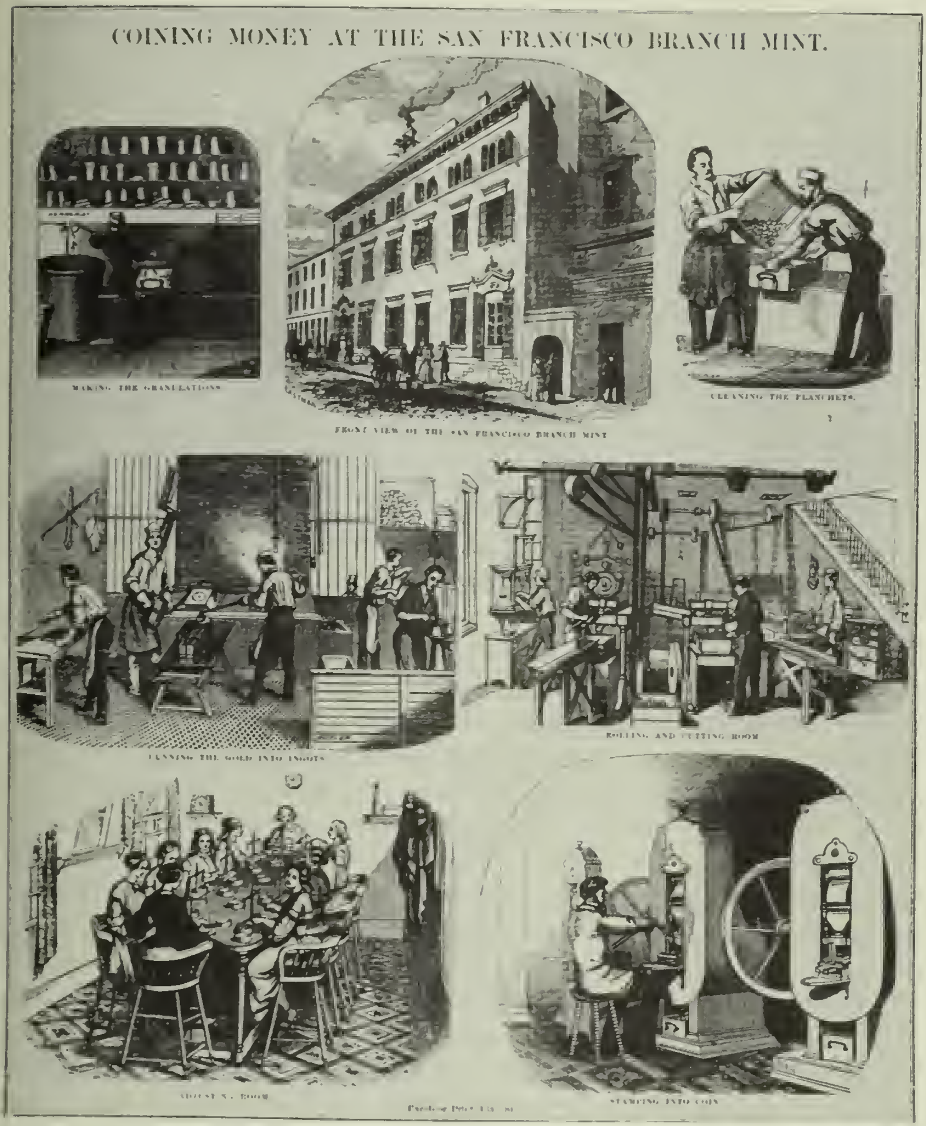
Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Browne's trip to Washington was the fact that he ever made the trip in the first place, since he had been at odds with the most powerful member of the group he represented. Browne's colorful career involved him in several phases of California's expansion and development during the early years of its statehood. One of his most notable achievements was the reporting of all the proceedings at the 1849 convention in Monterey where the state's constitution was drafted. During the 1850's, he served as an ardent confidential agent for the U. S. Treasury Department and, on behalf of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, took a sympathetic interest in the plight of the Indians. Just before he left for Washington, he had become a serious student of mining affairs in the West. All this



Protagonists: J. Ross Browne and Colonel Agoston Haraszthy.

in addition to his popular accounts of his varied travels. Yet Browne's conscientious approach to whatever he did and his aversion to all situations that smacked of dishonest dealings inevitably brought him into conflict with various people he encountered along the way. One such person was Colonel Agoston Haraszthy, who subsequently became the largest vintner in Northern California and one of the chief spokesmen for the state's wine interests.

During the course of Browne's California activities for the Treasury Department from July, 1854 to February, 1860, one of the major sources of concern was the U. S. Branch Mint in San Francisco. By the mid-fifties in that city, efficiency and reliability were often as difficult to come by as a fortune in the Comstock country, and the Mint presents a convincing case in point. Throughout 1854, Browne's letters to James Guthrie, Secretary of the Treasury, complained that the Mint was almost incapable of maintaining a consistent schedule due to repeated shortages of the nitrate of soda used in the refining process. By the fall of 1855, these organizational concerns developed into pronounced suspicions regarding the ability and integrity of several officials, including Haraszthy, who supervised the melting and refining processes. Since Browne's misgivings about Haraszthy were more conjecture than proof, he withheld charges for a year and a half while he amassed evidence against the assayer. Finally, in June, 1857, the treasury agent announced his case. A study of past records revealed that the Mint had been suffering awesome gold losses for the past several years. Browne's careful investigation of the operation led him to the conclusion that Harasz-


COINING MONEY AT THE SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH MINT.
MAKING THE GRANULATIONS
FRONT VIEW OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BRANCH MINT
CLEANING THE PLANCHETS
RUNNING THE GOLD INTO INGOTS
ROLLING AND CUTTING ROOM
ADJUSTING ROOM
STAMPING INTO COIN

Setting for chicanery? The U. S. Branch Mint in 1856.

thy had allowed $130,000 worth of gold to escape up the flues.[2] As a result of these allegations, the assayer was temporarily forced to deed all his property over to the U. S. Government, in lieu of bond, pending the outcome of the legal proceedings.[3]

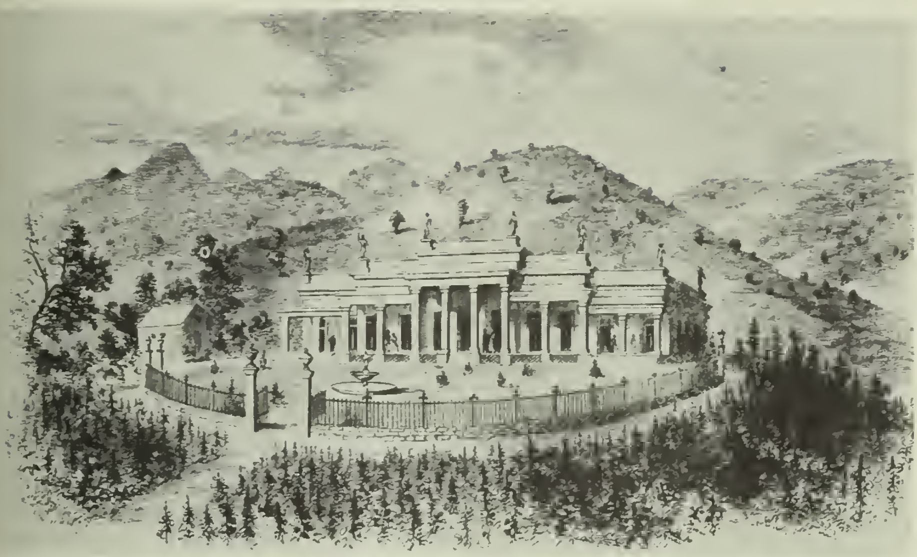
A closer analysis of this affair indicates that probably not all the missing gold went up the flue. In the first place, the property that Haraszthy consigned to the government was worth well in excess of the charged discrepancy—a handsome estate by any measure.[4] How a man on government salary was able to amass such tremendous wealth distressed Browne well before he announced any formal charges. In October of 1856, he had confided to Guthrie:

> He [Haraszthy] is a very efficient officer, but of late has been engaged a great deal in his private affairs. When he came here it was supposed that he was very poor. It is now generally believed that he is worth some thirty or forty thousand dollars, owns a large ranch, etc. From these and other reports which have reached me, as well as from his attempt to obtain the Mint sweeps, I consider him an unsafe man and would recommend his removal.[5]

Even more curious than Haraszthy's mysterious fortune is the little effect that these proceedings seemed to have had on the course of his life at the time—a vivid testimony to the intensity of his other involvements and the magnitude of his wealth. On April 24, 1857, Haraszthy resigned from the Mint, well in advance of Browne's formal charges which did not appear until June. Although he may very well have anticipated the forthcoming accusations, this was not necessarily the case. Early in 1857, he committed himself to an extensive project that would have forced him to resign from the Mint no matter what his situation there might have been. Having sold his ranch in San Mateo, Haraszthy had purchased a large block of land in Sonoma for the intended purpose of cultivating extensive vineyards. His previous life evidenced a longstanding interest in winemaking,[6] and apparently his Sonoma acquisition represented the fulfillment of a life-long ambition. He obtained the land in February of that year and promptly proceeded to plant as many vines as possible so that by the end of the year he had more than 13,000 vines in the ground.[7] He closed out the year by beginning construction on an elegant Grecian mansion. The only flaw in this energetic project was the fact that Browne was presently holding title to all his lands on behalf of the U. S. Government.[8]

The resolution of this dream was not to come until four years later. In November, 1859, the ex-assayer was formally indicted by a U. S. Grand Jury, but on March 2, 1861, he was acquitted. Although Haraszthy still emerged a wealthy and prominent vintner despite the public embarrassment of the proceedings and the inconvenience of his impounded property,[9] one can safely imagine that the name J. Ross Browne evoked few charitable sentiments in him.

Five more years were to pass between the final settlement of this case and Browne's sudden appearance as a Washington lobbyist on behalf of the California wine producers, and they were five very important years for both the California wine interests and the busy Colonel. Winemaking grew from a customary practice to a legitimate industry between 1850 and 1860, but the fifties are best characterized as a period of necessary groundwork for the boom years of the sixties. In 1860, total production stood at a rather



Colonel Haraszthy left the U.S. Mint, planted thousands of grapevines and built a Grecian mansion on property impounded by the government.

modest 246,518 gallons;[10] by 1866, the figure was 2,250,000[11]—an eight hundred percent increase. All the vintners of any size were enthusiastically expanding their operations, though few could match the industrious programs of the Buena Vista enterprise.

As one might naturally expect, these breathtaking advances occasioned increasing concern among vintners for their vested interests, and the most active spokesman on their behalf was Agoston Haraszthy. The Colonel not only proved to be very knowledgeable on all aspects of viticulture,[12] but he also perceived the vital importance of good public relations to a successful commercial operation. During the late 1850's and on into the 1860's, he undertook almost singlehandedly the arduous task of cultivating interest in the wine industry. In spite of his dubious activities at the Mint, Haraszthy became an active member of the California Board of Agriculture[13] and later served on the Vine Committee appointed by the state legislature in 1861. In this capacity, he wrote an informative and highly influential report concerning the state of grape and wine production in California. In addition, he spent five months of 1861 in Europe as a representative of the State of California making an extensive collection of quality vine cuttings with which he hoped to upgrade the quality of California wine.[14] In 1862, the year he was to establish himself as the largest vintner in Northern California,[15] he was instrumental in organizing and promoting the first meeting of the California Wine Growers' Association. Finally, he supplemented these activities by circulating abundant information to local newspapers and national magazines in order to keep the general public well informed on the development of California wines.[16]

Haraszthy's extensive influence on the state's wine industry, coupled with his previous dealings with Browne, cause one to wonder how Browne was ever chosen to represent the interests of the California winegrowers in Washington in 1866. Browne's life and writings do not indicate that he had any special connection with the wine industry nor that he was particularly fond of its product. How, then, did Browne acquire this curious job for which he was apparently ill-equipped and undesirable? Oddly enough, Browne's association with Indian affairs and a letter in the Huntington Library provide a revealing explanation.

When Browne returned to California in July, 1854, after a two-year absence, he was under salary to the U. S. Treasury Department as a confidential agent, a job which he later defined as the duty "to examine into every branch of public business connected with the collection of the revenue and the disbursement of the public moneys."[17] The diversity of these responsibilities led him to investigate the case of Edward F. Beale, who had been forced to resign as Western Indian Superintendent amidst charges of embezzlement and mismanagement. David Goodman, Browne's principal biographer, suggests that the visit he made to the Tejon reservation in line with this affair during a trip to Southern California resulted from a Treasury Department directive. Yet the matter was more complicated and less coincidental than Goodman indicates.[18] Browne, as the case turns out, was a friend of Beale, and there is convincing evidence that Browne had planned to investigate the charges against the ex-superintendent before he ever left San Francisco. On October 14, 1854, approximately the same time that Browne began his trip south, Beale wrote to B. D. Wilson:

> This will introduce my friend Mr. J. Ross Brown[e], for whom I bespeak your cordial reception at Los Angeles.
>
> I beg you will render him every assistance in your power, and endeavor to make his visit to your city agreeable. Mr. Brown[e] may require information on a variety of subjects and I have referred him to you as one whose position has placed it in his power to afford him all that he requires.[19]

Although this note is intended as an introduction for Browne, it also introduces to us a new character, who, strangely enough, provides the solution to the puzzling question of why Browne shows up twelve years later as a wine lobbyist. Since Wilson serves as such an important link in this study, perhaps it would be wise to sketch the background of this relatively unknown Californian.

Benjamin D. Wilson (1811-1878) is presented by John Walton Caughey as "an average Southern Californian" in his study of him in the *Huntington Library Quarterly*,[20] but his life seems hardly average by most modern standards. Working as a fur trapper in New Mexico, Wilson was captured by Apaches during a dispute they had with a group of settlers. Some Indian friends enabled him to escape, though he reached safety in Santa Fe only after fleeing one hundred miles with virtually no food or clothing.[21] Later he pushed on to California, where he again evaded death through the help of a friendly Indian who in this case treated him for a poisoned arrow wound.

These experiences provided Wilson with more than adequate qualifications to be Sub-agent for Indian Affairs in Southern California, a post he held under Edward Beale until his superintendent's dismissal.

Since Browne invested such a substantial amount of time and energy on the Beale case, it seems almost certain that he would have consulted Wilson. How these two men responded to each other we can only speculate, even though their similar backgrounds—their Southern childhood, their venturesome pasts, their acquaintance with pre-gold rush California, their interest in Indians—certainly provided them with sufficient material for a ready rapport. History's curious records seldom note mere acquaintances and often pass over important friendships. This was nearly the case with the relationship between Wilson and Browne, since, from the time of Beale's introduction until 1866, there is no evidence of any dealings between these two men. Yet when Browne writes to Wilson in April, 1866 (see Appendix), we find that Wilson's daughter Susan has been visiting Browne's family in Oakland for some time. As a further indication of the bond of trust that must have grown between these men over the intervening years, the letter reveals that Wilson had recently solicited Browne's help in the proposed sale of his $250,000 estate. Still, the part that is most relevant to our concern involves Browne's remarks on his upcoming trip to Washington. His references to his trip as "our mission to Washington" and "our tax mission" indicate that they were the principal organizers and salesmen for this project. Although Browne is seeking tax benefits for all growers, he and Wilson are clearly bearing most of the financial burden. It seems strange that twelve years after the initial meeting between the Indian agent and the Treasury agent these two should be committed to a mutual concern for the California wine industry. However, the course of both men's lives during these years shows that Beale's introduction was the source of an abiding friendship between them that resulted in a convenient marriage of personal interests and produced some valuable benefits for the state's wine producers.

After a two-year tour of Europe during the early sixties, Browne returned to California and initiated some new professional ventures. From as early as his first trip to Virginia City in 1860, he had been attracted to mining enterprises, which he perceived to be an important industry of the growing West. This early curiosity soon developed into a pronounced

Pagoda Hill, the exuberant residence of J. Ross Browne in Oakland (ca. 1880), stood on 59th Street near Ross Road. The site is now paved over with Chabot Road.

interest while he was in Arizona, and he expanded an assignment for the Bureau of Indian Affairs into a series of trips to mining centers that ranged from California to Utah, from Idaho to Arizona. He knew that miners would pay well for competent sketches and descriptions of their operations, and he fully exploited this market. In turn, he reworked these materials into feature-length articles which he sold to various newspapers as he had his travel accounts. In fact, Browne's accounts proved sufficiently accomplished that they appeared in several numbers of *Harper's Monthly*.[22]

Consequently, in 1866 Browne found himself in possession of a rather widespread literary reputation and a valuable knowledge of Western mining activities; and he was not one to overlook the potential value of these assets. When he first arrived in San Francisco on August 5, 1849, he found that his previously arranged job had fallen through, but within two months he had convinced California politicians that his experiences recording Congressional debates qualified him to report their Monterey convention, a job that he turned into a neat $10,000 operation. This was the same man who in 1866 was convinced that a handsome government position might be obtained if only he could get to Washington to promote his case.

Like that of Browne, the life of B. D. Wilson had changed substantially between his 1853 involvement in Indian affairs and his dealings with

Browne in 1866. Prior to his association with Beale, Wilson had devoted most of his time to raising cattle and sheep, and through gradual land acquisitions he had built a sizable ranch that included most of the land now comprising the U.C.L.A. campus. The same year he met Browne he purchased a country estate from the widow of an Indian expert whom he had befriended through his work. In moving to Lake Vineyard, as he called it, he disposed of his Los Angeles ranch and devoted himself to the production of wine.[23] Like Haraszthy, he plunged into this operation with great vigor. By 1855 he had 25,000 vines under cultivation,[24] and the following year he felt that his production was large enough to warrant the opening of a retail outlet in San Francisco.[25] Additional expansion and determined effort enabled him to surpass the firm of Kohler and Frohling and establish himself as the largest vintner in all of Southern California.[26] Such growth, one might expect, would have led Wilson to a concern for the industry in general, as noted in the case of Agoston Haraszthy. But apparently this was not so with either Wilson or with most Southern California wine producers.

On December 9, 1862, the first meeting of the California Wine Growers' Association was held in San Francisco. This organization was a sort of commercial union intended to promote the interest of California winegrowers, particularly in regard to the recent federal tax laws. That year Congress had voted in favor of assessing a five cents per gallon tax on wine and a twenty-five cents per gallon tax on brandy. At the same time, there was widespread distress over the *ad valorem* import duty on foreign wines which contained many loopholes, thereby creating stiff competition for domestic producers. Since San Francisco was the principal market for California wines, the major organizers of the winegrowers came from Northern California. Here again Haraszthy was a leading light. Though he held no office at the actual convention, he acted as president at the meeting in which all the plans for the convention were formulated.[27]

In an attempt to gather as large a group as possible, the Southern California producers were urgently requested to attend, but the distance seemed greater than their interest, for only a handful of representatives appeared, even though they bore proxy votes for fellow growers. Some of the major producers such as Wilson and Sainsevain, who would presumably have been most distressed about the next taxation, were conspicuously absent. No less notable is the fact that the most influential member of the Southern delegation, Charles Kohler, was actually a resident merchant of San Francisco.[28]

The absence of the Southern Californians proved portentous. Two days of talk ensued, but very few positive actions were drafted. When the organization adjourned, the most notable achievement was the composition of a memorial to Congress in which the winegrowers expressed their conclusion that the tax situation was "unjust, oppressive and impolitic."[29] One can only speculate as to whether it was refusal to cooperate, unwillingness to commit funds, or general lack of interest that led to the disappointing results, but disappointing they must have been, for there was great difficulty in getting enough wine producers to participate in the next convention, even though the tax situation was not altered.

Just prior to the June 23rd meeting of the Wine Growers, the front page of the *Alta California* carried an urgent plea that vineyard owners send representatives to the convention, but the call went unheeded, and the convention proved a dismal failure. On the first day, the members adjourned without having transacted any business,[30] and on the second day a testimonial was drafted in a feeble attempt to reverse the failure of the first. The whole meeting betrayed a distinct note of despair—the only positive resolution was to refer those seeking advice on viticulture and wine-making to Haraszthy's new book.[31] This rapidly dwindling interest is confirmed by the December, 1863 issues of the *Alta California.* According to the articles on the first convention, the Wine Growers' Association was to meet twice a year, in June and December, and in December, 1863, there was no meeting to report.

Apathy or disappointment must have replaced concern over taxes, because the Wine Growers' Association apparently held no more meetings for the next two and a half years. Yet not everyone was quite so willing to abandon the cause. Not long after the June, 1863 convention, Haraszthy decided to journey to Washington at his own expense, in hopes of getting some positive action on the tax situation. Though he had little effect on Congress, due to its preoccupation with the Civil War, the dauntless Colonel was not one to admit defeat easily. In March, 1865, he undertook a second trip to Washington, and a second time he footed all the bills.[32]

Nevertheless, no one likes to shoulder other people's responsibilities. On September 30, 1865, Haraszthy wrote an open letter to the readers of the *Alta California* and called their attention to the striking contrast between his generous expenditure of time, money and energy in the promotion of California wine and the dangerous complacency of his fellow vintners. In this letter, he first points out that his past trips to Washington sought benefits that stretched well beyond personal gain. He claims that his efforts prevented a tax hike to ten cents per gallon on wine and to $2.00 per gallon on brandy, an achievement which saved the state's wine producers $20,000 according to his calculation. In citing these achievements, he turns specifically to vintners in Southern California and chastises them for not having assumed their just share of the responsibility:

> This [the tax benefits Haraszthy claims credit for] gave new life and prosperity, especially to the Los Angeles wine growers, who now sell their grapes for one and a half dollars, when before they sold them from fifty to seventy-five cents per hundred pounds. But enough of that! Sometime or other they will awake of their interest and

> contribute to the expense of having somebody represent their interests in the National capitol.[33]

Further on in the letter, Haraszthy reiterates this plea for a Washington lobbyist, only this time he warns that if no action is taken, he "would not be astonished if the internal duty on wine would be raised to ten cents [per gallon] and on brandy to $1.00 per gallon."[34]

This particular letter undoubtedly went unread by many if not all of the Southern Californians about whom Haraszthy was so distressed, but criticism like this and the imminence of possible tax hikes must have exerted a persuasive influence on them. On April 3, 1866, only six months later, they reconvened the defunct Wine Growers' Association and echoed some of the same concerns of Haraszthy's letter. In a newspaper article on the proceedings that has survived in Bancroft's Agricultural Scrapbooks, one unidentified speaker is reported to have complained:

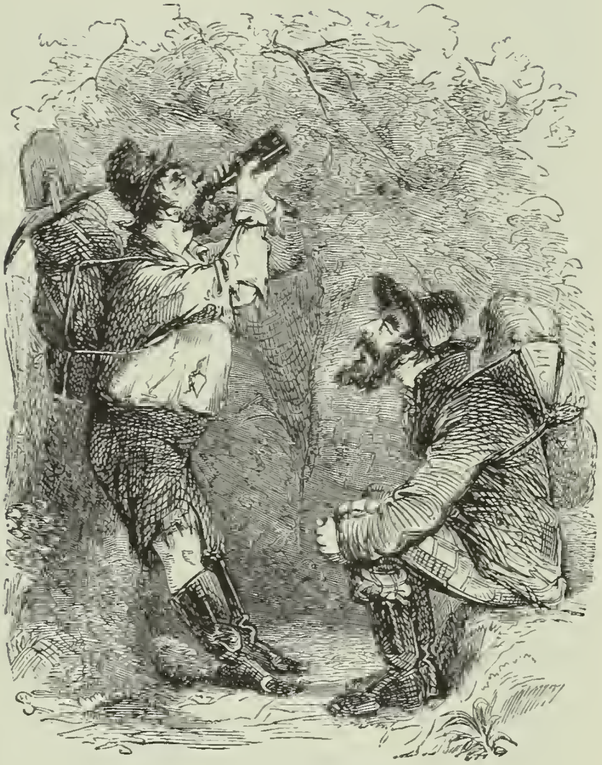
> The culture of the wine is only in its infancy and can be fostered by a wise government into great national importance, and should not be strangled in the first period of its existence by oppression and prohibitory taxation. . . . The government hitherto has encouraged the planting of vineyards and should now protect them from ruin and abandonment by too heavy a burden of taxation.[35]

Aside from the literal concern over taxation, the phrasing and imagery of the above passage bear striking similarity to various items of propaganda which Browne wrote on the wine issue while he was in Washington.[36] This curious resemblance may not have been mere coincidence—the vice-president of this convention was none other than B. D. Wilson. This implied connection between Browne and Wilson is further reinforced if we recall that Browne's letter to Wilson is dated two days after this convention and Browne set sail for New York only a week later. Suddenly the background for Browne's trip to Washington becomes strikingly clear. Browne was eager to get to Washington to impress the value of his knowledge about Western mining upon government officials, yet obviously he didn't want to finance such a journey himself. Wilson, as Browne's letter reveals, was interested in selling his vineyard estate, and since this transaction would involve an appreciable sum of money, Eastern cities provided the best prospects for a potential buyer. Concurrently, California wine producers needed an effective lobbyist in Washington. Since Browne was a well known writer and was familiar with Congressional life in the capitol,[37] he and Wilson probably agreed that a trip to the East by Browne might simultaneously realize all these different aims. Accordingly, Browne contacted various Northern vintners for support, as we learn from his letter to Wilson, while Wilson was undoubtedly instrumental in assembling the Wine Growers' convention in Los Angeles on April 3rd.

The only possible opponent to their plans would have been the ex-assayer, Agoston Haraszthy, and he was in no position to indulge a timeworn grudge. For the past two years, the wine king of Northern California had been plagued with ever-increasing financial difficulties. The annual reports of his Buena Vista Viticultural Society for 1865 and 1866 indicate that his enterprise was totally incapable of achieving the glowing profits which the initial prospectus had anticipated.[38] In fact, Haraszthy was subjected to such adverse criticism for his handling of the Sonoma operations that he was forced to resign late in 1866.[39] Thus earlier that year Haraszthy must have been engaged in a desperate struggle to steer the B.V.V.S. through its financial crisis. Any tax increase would surely have been fatal. In view of such a threat, the generous Colonel might have been tempted to undertake a third trip to Washington, had his affairs in Sonoma not totally precluded the possibility. At the same time, despite their past conflicts, Haraszthy could not deny that Browne's credentials made him ideally suited to be the lobbyist whom he had called for six months earlier. Suddenly the man that had cost Haraszthy his treasury job was in a position to alleviate some pressing concerns of his new career, and this explains the surprising fact that Haraszthy actually gave the ex-treasury agent $500 to help defray the expenses of his Washington trip, a fact revealed in Browne's letter to Wilson.

Whatever may have been the motives surrounding Browne's mission to represent the Wine Growers, there is convincing evidence that he diligently attended to the responsibilities he assumed. Aside from previously cited reports to his constituents, he wrote an eight-page pamphlet rather forthrightly entitled "Letter from J. Ross Browne to the Committee of Finance of the Senate in Relation to the Proposed Tax on Native Wines."[40] In addition, he busily engaged in the more conventional tactics of cultivating political contacts and seeking bargaining leverage wherever possible—an activity he complained of in his letters to his wife in Oakland.[41] At the same time, Browne realized that the situation called for more than these conventional ploys. Winemakers were no different from whiskeymakers, tonicmakers, candlemakers or wagonmakers: all of them were concerned about the prospect of additional taxes and all of them were seeking some way of getting lawmakers to lend a sympathetic ear. The essential problem was to gain attention, and a long time prior to this Browne had learned that humor was an effective device for getting a reader interested in his story:

> Tax crinoline if you please; tax the light of woman's eye; tax the light of other days; tax your own ingenuity; tax human forbearance; tax Patience sitting on a monument smiling at Grief; tax wax, hacks, sacks, backs, tacks; tack a tax on all attacks on tax; but don't, I beseech you, tax such a beverage as this . . . I take it for granted you have tried the Port. Sailors tell you, "any Port in a storm"; but I can assure you amid the storms of legislation, there is no Port like Wilson's native brand.[42]



THE POCKET PISTOL.

"But don't, I beseech you, tax such a beverage as this." In his *Washoe Story*, Browne wryly depicted one level of appreciation for the vine.

Apparently Browne wrote a whole series of humorous letters to prominent members of the House and Senate that were in the same vein as this excerpt from the one he sent to James Garfield where he refers to his associate Wilson. Although all the others have been lost, there is evidence to show that John Sherman and Thaddeus Stevens received such letters and responded warmly to their message.[43] Moreover, he scattered snatches of occasional verse among government officials, lobbyists and journalists in hopes of winning as much support as possible. One piece which was sent to the Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCullough, his sometime supervisor, eventually found its way into the *New York Times:*

All men their duty ought to do,
  And yet it must be said,
That Duty is a tax
  Upon the poor man's bread.[44]

Although somebody thought this doggerel worth publishing, Browne entertained no illusions about the true value of this work. He simply dashed these verses off as so much more material to bolster his campaign. Later he was to confide to his fellow Wine Growers, "for all the persuasive notes and pathetic rhymes that I wrote on these occasions, I hope posterity will forgive me."[45]

Browne's conscientious industry combined with his clever wit enabled him to succeed well beyond the expectations of the Wine Growers. Instead of merely preventing a new tax hike, his primary aim, he was able to have the federal tax on domestic wine completely abolished. Moreover, he was instrumental in persuading the legislators to introduce an increased tax against foreign wine, although this was not actually passed until the following year.

Unfortunately, these triumphs were somewhat undercut by a couple of notable setbacks. First of all, the tax on brandy was hiked from fifty cents to $2.00 per gallon. Although this backbreaking increase caused much concern and consternation among California vintners, Browne could do little against the insurmountable opposition that faced him. Next, he apparently failed in his efforts to sell Wilson's estate.[46] In his letter to Wilson on April 5th, he seemed rather optimistic on this account; consequently, the failure must have been quite disappointing.

Browne's efforts on his own account met with the greatest success of all, a testimony not so much to the direction of his energies as to his perceptive evaluation of the mining situation prior to his departure from California. As we saw earlier, he nourished some ulterior motives in seeking to represent the Wine Growers, which accounted for his willingness to assume a healthy portion of his expenses. While scrupulously attending to his avowed concern for the wine tax, he aligned himself with a delegation from Nevada in their efforts to get Congress to establish a national bureau of mining. His previous experience combined with the reputation he had attained from his publications in *Harper's Monthly* on Western mining enabled him to give persuasive support to their campaign. In July, 1866, Congress approved $10,000 for the collection of general information concerning mining reserves in the West. According to the terms of the appropriation, two commissioners were to be selected to assume the various responsibilities.[47] At this point, Browne merely stepped forward and picked the plum. Not only did he possess the qualifications, but also the nominations came from the Secretary of the Treasury, and Browne had a record of six years of Western service in this department. Having achieved all that he possibly could have anticipated, he quickly embarked for California, anxious to report to the Wine Growers' Association and begin his work as the new federal Commissioner of Western Mineral Resources.

On September 29, 1866, Browne appeared at a regional meeting of the

Wine Growers that took in producers from Napa, Sonoma, Solano and Yolo Counties. At this meeting he served as Secretary under the President, A. Haraszthy.[48] A week later he attended another local meeting in Los Angeles. At this gathering, over which B. D. Wilson presided, Browne gave a long talk on his trip to Washington and on the wine situation in general.[49] These meetings rallied the support for the general convention that took place in San Francisco one month later. There the former congressional stenographer capably filled the office of Secretary.[50]

In contrast to the conventions of 1862 and 1863, the meetings in 1866 reflected interest and active participation by all the state's wine producers. There can be little doubt that much of the response grew out of the widespread concern for the staggering brandy tax. Nevertheless, Browne and Wilson had won a major reprieve from all wine taxation and had contributed a great deal toward giving unity and direction to the state's scattered vintners. Whereas the Southern growers had formerly ignored the Wine Growers' Association, they now gave full support to the October 7th meeting in San Francisco; the results of this convention undoubtedly made a significant contribution to the fact that the brandy tax was dropped to $1.00 the following year. Ironically, the key figure in this whole drama was J. Ross Browne, and he had no vested interest in wine whatsoever, even though he possessed enough vision to relate the grapes in the valley and the silver in the mountains. Browne believed that enthusiasm and persistence were the major ingredient for success in any endeavor. Such an approach to the delights of Bacchus was likely to prove quite intoxicating, as Browne's address to the Los Angeles Wine Growers attests:

> You should preach it up to them—buzz it in their ears, force it down their throats—till every man, woman and child in the East has California wine on the brain—as I have.[51]

APPENDIX*

San Francisco, Cal.

Lake Vineyard
B. D. Wilson Esqu
Co.
Los Angeles, Cal.

April 5th 1866.

My dear Sir:

I avail myself of today's Express to send you a few lines advising you of the progress of our mission to Washington. We have had great difficulty in making the necessary collections and I fear will fall short of the amount originally fixed, by about $2,000. Since I have taken the matter in hand, however, I am determined to put it through, even though I should lose my time and labor. The only reliable chance I see now is, in getting through the Vineyard enterprise of which we spoke, and on that subject I have the most sanguine expectations. Mr.

Butterworth will give me some valuable letters to his friends in New York and Philadelphia. He says he regards your property as the most magnificent estate in California, and I think will so inform to his friends. John and I both think we will have no difficulty in getting up a splendid enterprise on such a basis. I do not intend to ask less than $250,000 for the whole property. We may have to come down a little, of course; but not lower than $200,000 at any rate. The acceptance of any proposition made will be left to you—so that the ultimatum will be in your hands.

In reference to our tax mission, I have stronger hopes of success the more I inquire into it. Congress will not adjourn till about the 1" of September—notwithstanding the resolution of the House to adjourn in May.

The Buena Vista Society have contributed $500; but we have collected nothing else.

Miss Sue has been enjoying herself to her heart's content over in Oakland. My people are delighted to have her with them, and she seems quite happy. John has been over nearly every evening, and is getting to be quite a beau with the girls. They are all as happy and lively as can be—so you must not think of getting Miss Sue home before our return from New York. My wife will take the best care of her, and the visit will do her good.

I sincerely trust our efforts for the benefit of the wine-growers and all our other undertakings will be successful. We leave on the Steamer of the 10". Wishing you and Mrs Wilson and all the little ones health and happiness, I remain Very truly your friend,

J. Ross Browne

*This letter from J. Ross Browne to Benjamin Wilson (April 5, 1866) is reproduced by permission of *The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.*

NOTES

1. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 755. This is a collection of newspaper clippings and scattered publications related to the early development of California agriculture. These were originally assembled by H. H. Bancroft and are presently located at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

2. David Michael Goodman, *A Western Panorama, 1849-1875: the travels, writings and influence of J. Ross Browne* (Glendale, California, 1966), p. 117. Richard H. Dillon, *J. Ross Browne: Confidential Agent in Old California* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1965), p. 143, places the amount at $135,000, and Paul Fredricksen, "The Authentic Haraszthy Story," *Wines and Vines* (San Francisco, 1947), p. 5, offers the figure $151,500.

3. Goodman, pp. 95-96, 117.

4. Dillon, p. 143, says that Haraszthy set the value at $215,000, though Browne revised it downward to $150,000.

5. Dillon, pp. 140-41.

6. Vincent P. Carosso, *The California Wine Industry: A Study of Frontier Years* (Berkeley, 1951), pp. 39-40. Haraszthy tried experiments first at his residence in Sauk City, Wisconsin (1845), then in San Diego (1850-1853) and finally in San Mateo (1853-1857).

7. Fredricksen, p. 5. Haraszthy actually planted 80,000 vines that year, though only 13,000 of them were his own. He persuaded a number of different wine producers to unite with him on his Sonoma project.

8. It should be noted that Haraszthy would have had great difficulty in obtaining a loan or mortgage to offset these expenses, since the government held legal ownership to all of his property, a further indication of the amount of wealth that he had acquired during his years with the Mint.

9. Carosso, p. 41, says the proceedings also left Haraszthy with $25,000 worth of expenses.

10. Carosso, p. 74.

11. Vincent P. Carosso, *Commercial Development of California Viticulture, 1830-1890*, p. 307. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). The table providing this information appears only in Carosso's dissertation and not in his published book.

12. Haraszthy's book, *Grape Culture, Wines, and Wine Making with Notes on Agriculture and Horticulture* (New York, 1862), was perhaps the most comprehensive and scholarly book on this subject to appear in America during the nineteenth century.

13. Haraszthy first became a member in 1858. He was elected Vice President in 1861, and he became President in 1862. All the time Haraszthy used his influence on this board to promote the wine industry.

14. This undertaking proved to be one of the most frustrating experiences of Haraszthy's life, since the many hours he devoted to collecting these choice cuttings went for naught. The state legislature refused to appropriate sufficient funds to distribute the vines throughout the state. The failure of this visionary scheme cost Haraszthy $10,000.

15. Fredricksen, p. 10.

16. Haraszthy's promotion clearly accounts for the simultaneous appearance of the articles "California as Vineland," *Atlantic Monthly* (May, 1864), and "Winemaking in California," *Harper's Monthly* (June, 1864).

17. Dillon, p. 26.

18. Goodman, p. 71.

19. John Walton Caughey, *The Indians of Southern California, 1852: the B. D. Wilson Report and a Selection of Contemporary Comment* (San Marino, California, 1952), p. 143.

20. Caughey, "Don Benito Wilson, An Average Southern Californian," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (April, 1939).

21. Thompson and West, *History of Los Angeles County* (Oakland, 1880), pp. 36-37.

22. Goodman, pp. 201-17.

23. "Don Benito Wilson," pp. 286-88.

24. *The California Wine Industry*, pp. 22-23.

25. This was the firm of Hobbs, Gilmore & Co. See the *Wine, Wool and Stock Journal* (March, 1863).

26. In 1864, Kohler and Frohling produced a formidable 125,000 gallons of wine, but Wilson was able to top that figure by 15,000 gallons. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 743.

27. *Alta California*, November 20, 1862.

28. *Alta California*, December 10, 1862.

29. *Idem.*

30. *Alta California*, June 24, 1863.

31. *Alta California*, June 25, 1863.

32. *The California Wine Industry*, pp. 80-81.

33. *Alta California*, September 30, 1865.

34. *Idem.*

35. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 753.

36. See Browne's letter to Garfield and his *Report to the Senate Committee on Finance*, in "Wines and Viniculture in California," Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

37. Browne had spent part of his early life in Washington where he served as a reporter for the *Congressional Globe*. In addition, his various tours about the world usually concluded with a stop in Washington, where he explored job opportunities.

38. Both reports and the original prospectus are contained in "Wines and Viniculture in California." See also *The California Wine Industry*, pp. 70-73.

39. *The California Wine Industry*, p. 72, and Fredricksen, p. 9.

40. The pamphlet is also contained in "Wines and Viniculture in California."

41. J. Ross Browne, *Muleback to the Convention: by the Reporter to the Constitutional Convention at Monterey in 1849*, edited by Lindley Bynum (San Francisco, 1950), p. xvii.

42. *The Vine in Early California*, edited by James D. Hart (San Francisco, 1955).

43. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, pp. 756, 767.

44. Goodman, p. 219.

45. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 766.

46. Wilson continued to live at his Lake Vineyard estate until his death in 1878.

47. Goodman, pp. 221-22.

48. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 764.

49. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 766.

50. "Constitution of the California Wine Growers' Association, 1866," in "Wines and Viniculture in California."

51. *Bancroft Scraps*, Vol. 19:2, p. 766.

PICTURE SOURCES: Mrs. Lina Fergusson Browne, Berkeley, page 100 top left, page 111; California Historical Society, pages 101 and 106; The Wine Institute, page 100 top right, page 103.

A Double Look at Utopia: The Llano Del Rio Colony

It may come as a surprise to some modern communitarians to learn that the search for community that is presently represented by scores of communal enclaves scattered throughout the state is actually an old, old story in California.

Interest in cooperative living experiments first reached California in the 1850's. In the next century, a larger number of viable communes developed here than in any other state in the Union. A total of seventeen major and scores of minor utopias flowered, withered, and eventually died. Idealistic motivations for these communities ranged from mysticism, to economic determinism, to health faddism. Many collectives sought the meaning of life through education, artistic expression, or contemplation. All tried with disappointing success to support themselves by means of farming, logging, mining, craftwork, or fiscal legerdemain.

One of the most successful of these utopian societies was the socialist community of Llano del Rio that burgeoned in the Antelope Valley, an offshoot of the Mojave Desert northeast of Los Angeles. In three vigorous, albeit contentious, years after its founding in 1914, it grew so rapidly that it outpaced the capacity of the land and available water to support its thousand members, and it was forced to migrate to a more spacious site in Louisiana, where it continued for eighteen more years before expiring in 1935.

Because of the present widespread interest in communal living styles, we are presenting on the following pages a two-part story on the California years of the Llano colony by two writers, separated by twenty years in time.

Part One, by the distinguished social critic, philosopher, and novelist Aldous Huxley (1894-1963) is a fascinating analysis of the philosophical and psychological implications of the experiment. His essay was first published in 1953 and we are reprinting it with the kind permission of his publishers, Harper & Row.

In Part Two, Paul Kagan, a young scholar and gifted photographer, reveals the day-to-day workings of the colony with contemporary photographs and documents that he has recently brought to light and supplements these with his own striking photographs of the crumbling walls of the long-dead colony. This pictorial essay is an adaptation of a chapter from his forthcoming book on California utopias.

Llano today: "Round the decay of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare, The lone and level sands stretched far away."

Photograph by Paul Kagan

Aldous Huxley

Distinguished English novelist, essayist, poet, literary journalist, biographer, and philosopher who settled in California in 1937. Explored the idea of a Utopian society in the well-known Brave New World *(1932) and dealt with mystical philosophy in other works.*

I. LLANO DEL RIO

Ozymandias, the Utopia That Failed*

In this part of the desert Ozymandias consists of an abandoned silo and the ruins of a cow byre. "The hands that mocked"—mocked themselves in the very act of so laboriously creating these poor things—were the hands of a thousand idealists; "the heart that fed" belonged to a Marxist lawyer, with a Gladstone collar and the face of a revivalist or a Shakespearean actor. Job Harriman was his name; and if the McNamara brothers had not unexpectedly confessed to the dynamiting of the *Times* building, he would in all probability have become the first Socialist mayor of Los Angeles. But with that confession, his passionately defended clients ceased to be proletarian martyrs and became the avowed killers of twenty-six unfortunate printers and newspapermen. Job Harriman's chance of winning the election abruptly declined to zero. Another man would have admitted defeat. Not Harriman. If Los Angeles would not have him as its mayor, he would go out into the wilderness and there create a new, better city of his own. On May Day, 1914, the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony (incorporated first in California and later under the more easy-going laws of Nevada) received its first contingent of settlers.

Three years later, in the *Llano View Book,* an anonymous enthusiast wrote of the event with a mixture of biblical and patriotic solemnity. "May first, 1914, a hardy little band of pioneers, likened unto those who courageously founded the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts so many years ago, went forth into the Antelope Valley to found another Colony, destined through the years to be quite as historical and quite as significant of the founding of a New Civilization." And this May Day promise had already been fulfilled. "The success of complete cooperation has now been demonstrated convincingly. The demonstration is the most thorough that can be asked for." The colony is now "too firmly established to be affected by anything except a concerted and organized effort backed by Capital. Its fu-

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*From the book *Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow.* Copyright 1956 by Aldous Huxley. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row.

ture is clear." These words were penned and printed, at the Llano publishing house, in the summer of 1917. Before the year was out, that clear future was a thing of the past. The company was bankrupt, the colonists had dispersed. Within twenty-four hours of their departure playful iconoclasts had smashed five hundred dollars' worth of windows; within a week, a large frame hotel and several scores of houses and workshops had been demolished and carried off piecemeal by the homesteaders who precariously represented capitalism in the wilderness. Only the silo and the foundations of the cow byre remained; they were made of concrete and could not be hauled away.

> Round the decay
> Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare,
> The lone and level sands stretch far away.

A more squeamish artist than Shelley would have avoided the reduplication of those alliterative epithets. "Boundless and bare," "lone and level"—one is reminded of a passage in Lewis Carroll's versified essay on poetic diction: "The wild man went his weary way to a strange and lonely pump." But the general effect, albeit a little cheap, is dramatically good and even sufficiently true, despite the fact that the sands hereabouts are neither bare nor indefinitely level. A few miles south of Ozymandias the desert tilts upwards to a range of wooded and, in winter, snow-covered mountains. To the north stretches a plain; but its levels are dotted with isolated buttes and rimmed, in the far distance, by other ranges of mountains. And over all the ground spreads the thin carpet of those astonishingly numerous plants and bushes which have learned to adapt themselves to a land where it rains eight or nine inches during the winter and not at all from May to November.

To the brute facts of meteorology in arid country Job Harriman was resolutely indifferent. When he thought of human affairs, he thought of them only as a Socialist, never as a naturalist. Thus, with a population of only three hundred thousand, Los Angeles was already becoming uncomfortably dry. But because its water would enrich the real-estate operators, Job Harriman opposed the construction of the Owens Valley Aqueduct. Worse, he rationalized his opposition by the obviously absurd statement that the city could grow indefinitely on its local resources. The same ill-informed optimism made nonsense of his plan for Llano. In a good year (and every other year is bad) water from the Big Rock Creek makes possible the raising, at Llano, of crops and cattle worth perhaps a hundred thousand dollars. The Colony owned rights to part of this water. On its irrigated acres fifty or, at the most, a hundred persons might have eked out a precarious living. But by the beginning of 1917 Harriman had accepted the applications of almost a thousand eager co-operators. Every applicant had to buy two thousand shares of the company's stock, for which he was to pay five hundred, or preferably a thousand, dollars in cash, and the balance in labor. In a year or two, it was assumed, the Colony would be self-sufficient; until then, it would have to live on the cash invested by its members.

For as long as the cash lasted, times were good, enthusiasm high and achievement correspondingly great. A wagon road was driven through the foothills, up into the timberland of the San Gabriel Mountains. Trees were felled and laboriously brought down to the sawmill in the plain, below. A quarry was opened, a lime kiln constructed. The tents of the first colonists gave place to shacks, the shacks to houses. Next a hotel was built, to accommodate the interested visitors from the infernal regions of capitalism. Schools and workshops appeared as though by magic. Irrigation ditches were dug and lined. Eighty horses and a steam tractor cleared, leveled, plowed and harvested. Fruit trees were planted, pears canned, alfalfa cut and stored, cows milked and "the West's most modern rabbitry" established. Nor were the spiritual needs of the colonists neglected. From the print shop issued two weekly newspapers and a stream of pamphlets. Among the amenities were a woman's exchange, a Socialist local, several quartets, two orchestras, a brass band and a mandolin club.

One of the old-timers has often talked to me nostalgically of that brass band, those mandolins and barber-shop ensembles. What pleasure, on a mild night in May or June, to sit out of doors under one's privately owned cottonwood tree and listen, across a mile of intervening sagebrush, to the music of Socialists! The moon is full, the last snow still glitters on the summit of Mount Baden Powell and, to the accompaniment of the steady croaking of frogs along the irrigation ditch and the occasional frantic shrieks of the coyotes, the strains of Sousa and "Sweet Adeline" and the Unfinished Symphony transcribed for mandolins and saxophone, come stealing with extraordinary distinctness upon the ear. Only Edward Lear can do full justice to such an occasion. It must have been, in the very highest degree, "meloobious and genteel." But, alas, every magical night is succeeded by yet another busy morning. The *al fresco* concert was delightful; but that did not make it any easier to collect, next day, from the communal treasury. As well as the mandolins, my old-timer friend recalls his efforts to get paid for services rendered. After long haggling he would think himself lucky if he came away with two dollars in silver and the rest in hay or pumpkins.

For most of the co-operators, the morning after a concert was less disillusioning. I have met three or four ex-colonists—older, sadder, possibly wiser—and all of them bore witness to the happiness of those first months at Llano. Housing, to be sure, was inadequate; food monotonous, and work extremely hard. But there was a sense of shared high purpose, a sustaining conviction that one had broken out of an age-old prison and was marching, shoulder to shoulder with loyal comrades, towards a promised land. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive." And this applies to all dawns without distinction—the dawn of a war and the dawn of a peace, the dawn of revolution and the dawn of reaction, the dawn of passion and in due course the blessed coolness of the

LLANO TODAY: Massive brick kiln that once supplied thousands of bricks for the colony's buildings, crumbles in the desert sun, victim of a half century of wind, weather, and vandalism.

Photograph by Paul Kagan

dawn of indifference, the dawn of marriage and then, at Reno, the long awaited dawn of divorce. In co-operative communities dawns are peculiarly rosy. For this very reason, midday is apt to seem peculiarly stifling, and the afternoons intolerable and interminable. To the ordinary hazards of community life Llano added the insurmountable obstacles of too many people, too little water and, after three years, no money.

As the situation grew worse, the propagandists became more lyrical. "Llano offers hope and inspiration for the masses. . . . Its purpose is to solve unemployment, to assure safety and comfort for the future and old age." And the words were accompanied by a detailed plan of the city which was just about to be built. "It will be different in design from any other in the world. Its houses will be comfortable, sanitary, handsome, home-like, modern and harmonious with their surroundings, and will insure greater privacy than any other houses ever constructed. They are unique and designed especially for Llano." The publicity worked. Applications and, more important, checks kept steadily coming in. With each arrival of an idealist's life savings, there was a respite. But a respite at a price. For with those life-savings came another member and his family. The Colony had acquired three days' supply of food, but it had also acquired five extra mouths. Each successive windfall went a little less far. And meanwhile our old friend, Human Nature, was busily at work.

In his office and in court Harriman was a successful attorney. Outside he was an idealist and theorizer, whose knowledge was not of men and women but of sociological abstractions and the more or less useful fictions of economics.

In a preface which he contributed in 1924 to Ernest Wooster's *Communities Past and Present* Harriman writes, (how touchingly!) about his self-imposed ignorance and subsequent enlightenment. "Believing that life arose out of chemical action and that form was determined by the impinging environment, I naturally believed that all would react more or less alike to the same environment." But in fact they didn't. Against all the rules, "we found more well-to-do-men among the unselfish than there were among the selfish." Worse still, "we found to our surprise that there were more selfish men among the poor in proportion to their number, than there were among the well-to-do. . . ." Worst and most unexpected was the fact that the selfish "persisted in their course with a persistence that was amazing." From amazement the poor man passed to downright "confusion" at the discovery that there are "those who are extremely active (in the work of the Colony) and yet who are also extremely selfish. If their behavior is closely observed, they will invariably be found to be working for self-glory or for power." These discoveries of the immemorially obvious led him to two conclusions, whose extremely unoriginal character is the guarantee of their soundness. First, "theories and intellectual concepts play a very small part in our reactions." And, second, "economic determination seems to play no part in separating the sheep from the goats." In the process of reaching these conclusions, Job Harriman had to pass through ten years of an excruciatingly educative purgatory.

No effort had been made to exclude from Llano the sort of people whose presence is fatal to any close-knit community, and there was no system of rules by which, having been admitted, such persons might be controlled. From the first Harriman found himself confronted by a cantankerous minority of trouble-makers. There were the idealistic purists, who complained that he was making too many compromises with the devils of capitalism; there were the malingerers, who criticized but refused to work; there were the greedy, with their clamor for special privileges; there were the power lovers who envied him and were ambitious to take his place. Meeting secretly in the desert, the "brush gang," as these malcontents were called, plotted his overthrow. It came at last at the hands of a trusted lieutenant who, in Harriman's absence, disposed of the Llano property to private owners—including, in a big way, himself. But, long before this final catastrophe, there had been nothing to eat, and the majority of the colonists had returned, without their savings, to the world of free competition. A few, under Harriman's leadership, migrated in a special train to Louisiana, where they had collectively bought an abandoned lumber camp and several thousand denuded acres. There was another blissful dawn, followed by a prolonged struggle with a hundred ferocious Texans, who had been invited to join the community, but had not, apparently, been told that it was a co-operative. When these extremely rugged individualists had gone, taking with them most of the Colony's livestock and machinery, the survivors settled down to the dismal realities of life on an inadequate economic foundation. Work was hard, and for diversion there were only the weekly dances, the intrigues of several rival brush gangs and the spectacle of the struggle for power between the ailing Harriman and an ex-insurance salesman of boundless energy, called George T. Pickett. By 1924, Harriman was out—for good.

The new manager was one of those "born leaders," who have no patience with democratic methods and are seriously convinced that they always know best. "I'd rather work with a bunch of morons than with a lot of over-educated kickers." But the colonists—or at least some of them—refused to accept his benevolent dictatorship. Brush-gangs bored from within; heretics and seceders campaigned from without. From the neighboring town of Leesville two dissident and mutually hostile groups bombarded the loyalists with anonymous letters and denounced the management and, of course, one another in any left-wing paper that would print their articles.

And all the time New Llano was as far as ever from self-sufficiency. The Colony could boast of no less than thirty-eight industrial and agricultural departments. But all of them, unfortunately, were running at a loss. The only solid asset was Pickett's incomparable salesmanship; the only steady source of income, his far-ranging drives for funds. Through the years a trickle of money flowed in—never quite enough to buy the colonists new shoes, but sufficient at least to prevent actual starvation. In the thirties wildcatters persuaded the management that there was oil on the colony's property. A number of idealists were talked into a speculative investment, and three wells were drilled. Needless to say, all of them were dry.

Then came the Revolution. While Pickett was away, soliciting Federal funds at Washington, his enemies called a meeting of the entire membership. By a majority vote of the minority who attended, Pickett was deposed. For the dominant brush gang and its supporters, what a blissful dawn! For the rest, it looked like the midnight of all hope. The author of a rare little book, *The Crisis in Llano Colony, An Epic Story*, belonged to the second group. To express his feeling about Pickett, mere prose seemed inadequate. The history of the conspiracy culminates in a lyric.

He came from out the Land of Graft
To lend a hand to Llano,
Its industry and handicraft,
And added to its cargo.

He quit the struggle in the bog,
Where devil take the hindmost,
He left the realm where dog eat dog,
With Equity his guide-post.

A better life the world to show,
A work he tires of never,
While men may come and men may go,
Will he go on forever.

"Forever" was perhaps a little too optimistic. But the fact remains that, in due course, George T. Pickett did come back to Llano. In his *Can We Co-operate?* Bob Brown prints a letter from one of the surviving colonists, dated November, 1937. "Things in hell of a shape here. No food for the past week but sweet potatoes, and darn small ones at that. . . . No electricity for two months, and I buy plenty kerosene. . . . Very little money coming in, and what little there is Pickett takes it for his own use. Seems to think everything belongs to him. . . . Lots of people pretty mad here since Pickett took over again. . . . I expect few people on the outside would believe the truth about this place. Just try and tell some of those old friends, who sent money in through *The Colonist*, that one works 365 days a year in this Socialist paradise, then supplies one's own clothes, most of one's own food, light, etc., and they might say one was a liar."

Two years later it was finished. All the Colony property had been sold up, and the colonists (most of them old people who had invested their savings and their work in Llano for the sake of security in their declining years) were on relief. All that remained, after twenty-five years of idealistic struggle, was a small brick hotel and a recreation hall.

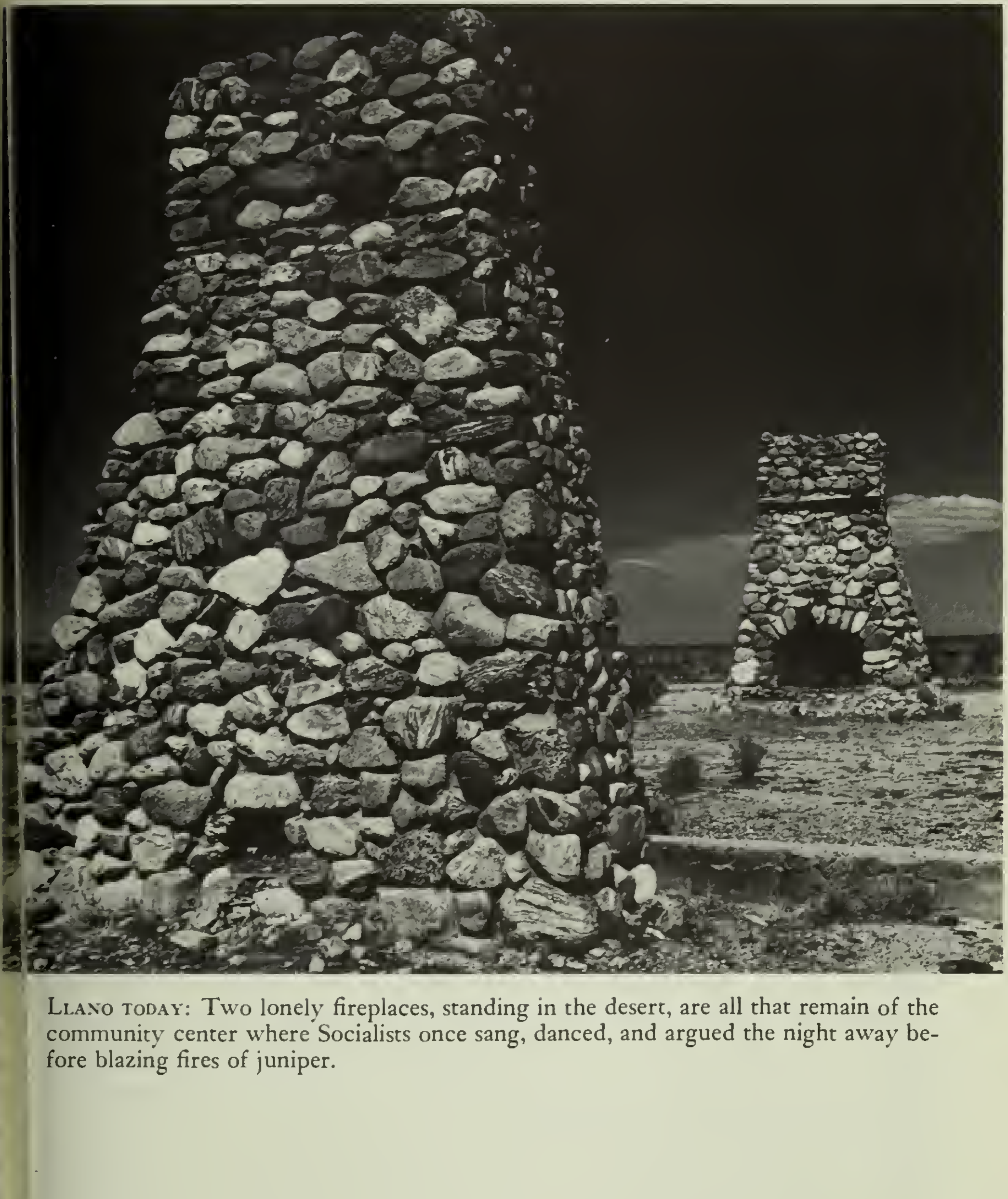
> And on the pedestal these words appear:
> "My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:
> Look on my work, ye Mighty, and despair!"

But *despair* is only the penultimate word, never the last. The last word is *realism*—the acceptance of facts as they present themselves, the facts of nature and of human nature, and the primordial fact of that spirit which transcends them both and yet is in all things. The original Ozymandias was no realist; nor was poor Mr. Harriman. In the conditions prevailing at Llano and, later, at New Llano, integral co-operation was as fatally condemned to self-destruction as are, in any circumstances, the ambitions of a king of kings. Fortunately, unrealistic co-operation does no harm except to the co-operators. Unrealistic imperialism, on the other hand, cannot commit suicide without inflicting misery and death upon innumerable victims.

The economic problems of community living can be solved by any group possessed of common sense and capital. The psychological problems are much more difficult and demand, for their solution, something rarer than either cash or shrewdness.

Life in a community is life in a crowd—the same old crowd, day in, day out. At Llano the colonists divided mankind into two groups—themselves and people "on the outside." The same distinction, in the same words, is made by convicts. "On the inside" are we; "on the outside" lies the whole wide world. Of those nineteenth-century American communities which survived long enough to rear a second generation of co-operators, few were able to resist the impact of the bicycle. Mounted on a pair of wheels, the young people were able to explore that unredeemed but fascinating world "on the outside." After each expedition, it was with mounting reluctance that they returned to the all too familiar crowd. In the end reluctance hardened into refusal. They went out one day and never came back.

The attraction of life "on the outside" can be counteracted in several ways. Shared religious faith is helpful, but not, of itself, enough. One can believe as the others believe, and yet detest the sight of them. "*Ave Virgo!*—Gr-rr—you swine!" Browning's fictional soliloquist is echoed, more decorously, by such real and historical figures as the saintly Dame Gertrude More. "Living in religion (as I can speak by experience), if one is not in a right course of prayer and other exercises between God and our soul, one's nature groweth much worse than it would have been if one had lived in the world." It grows worse because there is no escape from the objects of one's unreasoned abhorrence. "On the outside," we are constantly imitating the conduct of the Old Man in the limerick, "who purchased a steed, which he rode at full speed, to escape from the people of Basing." "On the inside," be it of Alcatraz, of Llano, of a cloister, there are no steeds; and unless they can learn the difficult art of being charitable, the inmates of such penal, socialistic or religious colonies will find themselves condemned to a life sentence of boredom, distaste and loathing. Vows, rules and a hierarchy can forcibly con-



LLANO TODAY: Two lonely fireplaces, standing in the desert, are all that remain of the community center where Socialists once sang, danced, and argued the night away before blazing fires of juniper.

Photograph by Paul Kagan

strain a man to remain in his community. Only "a course of prayer, by which the soul turneth towards God and learneth from Him the lesson of truly humbling itself," can soften his heart to the point where it becomes susceptible of loving even his exasperating brothers.

At Llano shared religious faith was replaced, less effectively, by a vague Pickwickian belief that, thanks to Socialism, everything would be much better in the twenty-second century. "You've got to get up on some private hill to view the future. I've been on this job ten years, and there has been some real progress. But when I'm overwhelmed by the ugliness, the seemingly useless struggle of it all, I just climb up my hill and see the whole place as it should be."

More effective, as a binding force, than religious or Utopian belief, is the presence among the faithful of some dominant and fascinating personality. These are the human magnets, in relation to whom ordinary men and women behave like iron filings. Their attractive power is hard to analyze and explain. Impressiveness of appearance and high intelligence are sometimes present, but not invariably. A glittering eye, a mysterious manner, a disconcerting fluctuation between remoteness and concern—these are never amiss. A gift of the gab is useful, and becomes quite invaluable when combined with the right kind of voice—the kind of voice which seems to act directly on the autonomic nervous system and the subconscious mind. Finally, indispensably, there is the will of iron, there is the unswerving tenacity of purpose, the boundless self-confidence—all the qualities which are so conspicuously absent in the common run of anxious, bewildered and vacillating humanity. A community having capital, sound management and a leader possessed of magnetic qualities can hardly fail to survive.

Unfortunately (or rather, thank God!) the magnetic leader is not immortal. When his current is turned off, the iron filings fly apart, and yet another experiment in integral co-operation is at an end.

Is there any reason, someone may ask, why it should ever have been begun? For the Marxist, a religious community is anathema and a secular cooperative colony represents no more than "a working-class form of escape, corresponding to the white-collar boy's flight to Montparnasse." For the capitalist, any kind of integral co-operation is a gratuitous absurdity which might, if it worked too well, become dangerously subversive. But for anyone who is interested in human beings and their so largely unrealized potentialities, even the silliest experiment has value, if only as demonstrating what ought not to be done. And many of the recorded experiments were far from silly. Well planned and carried out with skill and intelligence, some of them have contributed significantly to our knowledge of that most difficult and most important of all the arts—the art of living together in harmony and with benefit for all concerned. Thus, the Shakers cultivated the sense of togetherness by means of the sacramental dance, through collective "speaking with tongues" and in spiritualistic séances, at which mediumship was free to all.

The Perfectionists practiced mutual criticism—a drastic form of group therapy which often worked wonders, not only for neurotics, but even for the physically sick. Sex is "the lion of the tribe of human passions"; to tame the lion, John Humphrey Noyes devised, and for thirty years his community at Oneida put into effect, a system of "Complex Marriage," based upon "Male Continence." Separated, by means of a carefully inculcated technique, from propagation, the "amative function" was refined, taught good manners, reconciled with Protestant Christianity and made to serve the purpose of religious self-transcendence. "Amativeness," Noyes could truthfully write, "is conquered and civilized among us." A similar conquest had been achieved, in India, by those Tantrik prophets, in whom the world-affirming spirit of the Vedas had come to terms, through sacramentalism, with the world-denying spirit of Jainism, Yoga and early Buddhism. In the West, however, Noyes's experiment stands alone—not indeed in its intention (for many before him had tried to do the same thing), but in the realistic and therefore sucessful way it was carried out. The members of the Oneida Community seem to have been happier, healthier, better behaved and more genuinely religious than most of their contemporaries "on the outside." That they should have been forced, under the threat of ecclesiastical persecution, to abandon their experiment is a real misfortune. The course of Freudian and post-Freudian psychology would have run a good deal more smoothly, if there had been a place, like Oneida, where theorists might have tested their frequently preposterous notions against the realities of a cooperating group, in which the lion no longer raged and a reconciliation between sex, religion and society was an accomplished fact.

Except in a purely negative way, the history of Llano is sadly uninstructive. All that it teaches is a series of don'ts. Don't pin your faith on a water supply which, for half the time, isn't there. Don't settle a thousand people on territory which cannot possibly support more than a hundred. Don't admit to your fellowship every Tom, Dick and Harry who may present himself. Don't imagine that a miscellaneous group can live together, in closest physical proximity, without rules, without shared beliefs, without private and public "spiritual exercises" and, without a magnetic leader. At Llano everything that ought not to have been done was systematically done. A pathetic little Ozymandias is all that remains to tell the tale.

From where I used to live, on the fringes of what had been the colony's land, this Ozymandias was the only visible trace of human handiwork. Gleaming in the morning light or black against the enormous desert sunsets, that silo was like a Norman keep rising, against all the probabilities, from the sagebrush. *The splendour falls on castle walls. Childe Roland to the dark tower came*—came, and looking through the opening in the dark tower's wall, saw within a heap of tin cans, some waste paper and half a dozen empty bottles of Pepsi-Cola. The ruin stands very close to the highway and there are still a few motorists prepared, at a pinch, to walk a quarter of a mile.

But Ozymandias is not the only relic of the co-operative past. Two or three miles to the southeast, on the almost obliterated wagon road over which the colonists once hauled their timber from the mountains, is the Socialist cemetery.

It lies astride of the four-thousand-foot contour line, that ecological frontier where the creosote bushes abruptly give place to junipers, the Joshua trees to common yuccas. One ancient and gigantic Joshua—the last outpost of the great army of Joshuas encamped on the wide plains below the foothills—stands like a sentinel on guard over the dead. In a little tumbledown enclosure of wooden palings and chicken wire three or four anonymous mounds have returned completely to the desert.

On what was once bare and weeded ground, the sage and the buckwheat have taken root again and are flourishing as though they had never been disturbed. Nearby a concrete headstone commemorates someone who, to judge by his name, must have been of Scandinavian origin. His epitaph is purely quantitative, and all the inscription tells us is that he lived sixty-eight years, seven months, four days and eleven hours. The most pretentious of the tombs is a mausoleum in the form of a hollow cube of cement. Entering through the broken door one finds a slab, headstone and an incredible quantity of desiccated droppings of small rodents. The dance goes on. A human pattern, made up of the patterns of patterns, is resolved into the simpler forms that are its elements. Another vortex catches and draws them into itself. Patterns are built up into patterns of a higher order, and for a few months a little pattern of these patterns of patterns hurries, squeaking, along the rat roads.

Outside, the Joshua tree stands guard in the empty sunlight, in the almost supernatural silence. A monstrous yucca at the limit of its natural habitat? A symbol within the cosmic symbol? The eye travels out across the plain. The buttes are like kneeling elephants and beyond them, far away, are the blue ghosts of mountains. There is a coolness against the cheek, and from overhead comes the scaly rattling of the wind in the dead dry leaves of the Joshua tree. And suddenly the symbol is essentially the same as what it symbolizes; the monstrous yucca in the desert is at once a botanical specimen and the essential Suchness. What we shall all know, according to the *Barbo Thodol*, at the moment of Death may also be known by casual flashes, transfiguringly, while we inhabit this particular pattern of patterns. There is a consciousness of the Pure Truth, like a light "moving across the landscape in springtime in one continuous stream of vibration." Be not afraid. For this "is the radiance of your own true nature. Recognize it." And from out of this light comes "the natural sound of Reality reverberating like a thousand thunders." But, again, be not afraid. For this is the natural sound of your own real self—a thousand thunders which have their source in silence and in some inexpressible way are identical with silence.

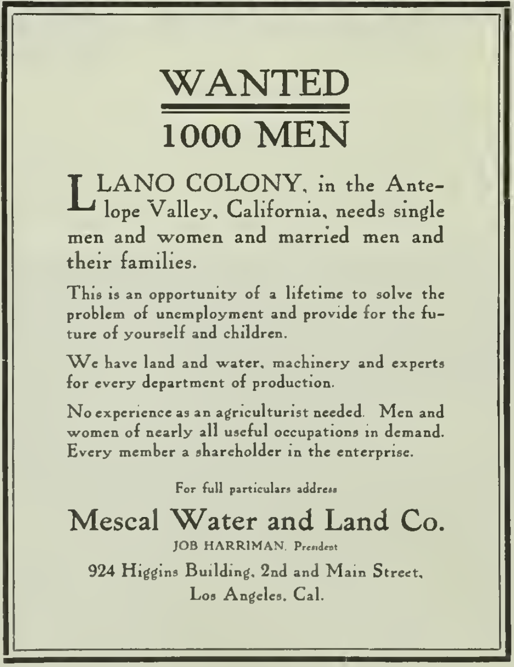
II. LLANO DEL RIO

Portrait of a California Utopia

by Paul Kagan

ranking up one of the colony's two
rucks in 1915.

In 1914, about 45 miles north of
os Angeles, Llano del Rio Co-
perative colony was founded by a
andful of visionary California so-
ialists. Based on the principles of
qual ownership, equal wages, and
qual social opportunities, Llano
as meant to demonstrate practi-
ally that co-operation could work.
en and women came to Llano to
ave behind worries of job inse-
urity, unemployment, and the
haos of crime and pollution
pawned by the great cities.



WANTED

1000 MEN

LLANO COLONY, in the Antelope Valley, California, needs single men and women and married men and their families.

This is an opportunity of a lifetime to solve the problem of unemployment and provide for the future of yourself and children.

We have land and water, machinery and experts for every department of production.

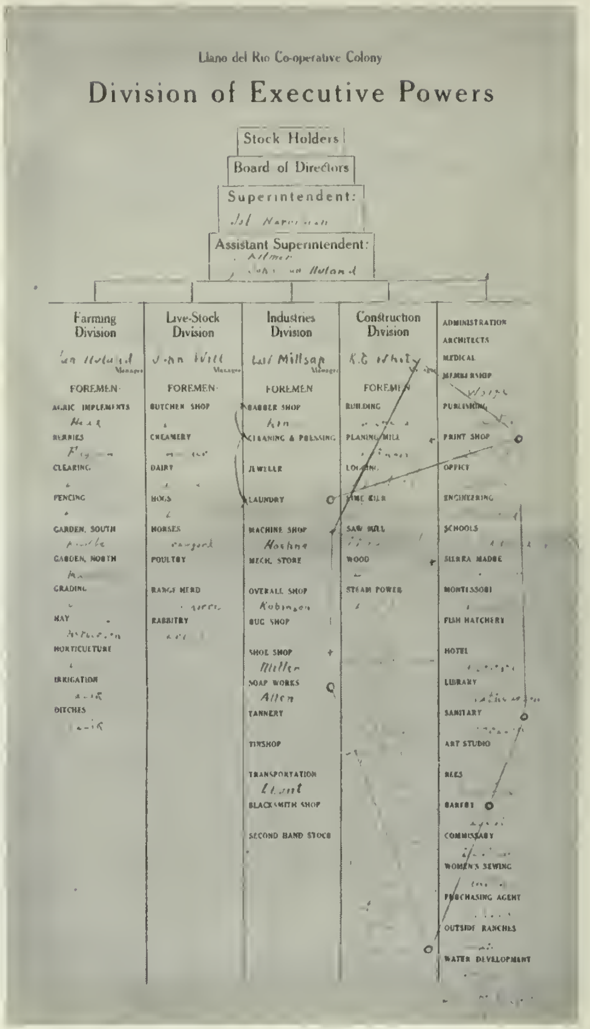
No experience as an agriculturist needed. Men and women of nearly all useful occupations in demand. Every member a shareholder in the enterprise.

For full particulars address

Mescal Water and Land Co.
JOB HARRIMAN, President
924 Higgins Building, 2nd and Main Street,
Los Angeles, Cal.

Early call to join the colony, from The Western Comrade, *June, 1915.*

Marxist lawyer, Job Harriman, "with the face of a revivalist or a Shakespearean actor" (Huxley), promoted Llano as a viable example of the workability of socialism.



Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony

Division of Executive Powers

Stock Holders

Board of Directors

Superintendent:

Assistant Superintendent:

Farming Division

Manager

FOREMEN

AGRIC. IMPLEMENTS

BERRIES

CLEARING

FENCING

GARDEN, SOUTH

GARDEN, NORTH

GRADING

HAY

HORTICULTURE

IRRIGATION

DITCHES

Live-Stock Division

Manager

FOREMEN

BUTCHER SHOP

CREAMERY

DAIRY

HOGS

HORSES

POULTRY

RANGE HERD

RABBITRY

Industries Division

Millsap
Manager

FOREMEN

BARBER SHOP

CLEANING & PRESSING

JEWELER

LAUNDRY

MACHINE SHOP

MECH. STORE

OVERALL SHOP

Robinson

RUG SHOP

SHOE SHOP

Miller

SOAP WORKS

Allen

TANNERY

TINSHOP

TRANSPORTATION

BLACKSMITH SHOP

SECOND HAND STOCK

Construction Division

FOREMEN

BUILDING

PLANING MILL

LOGGING

LIME KILN

SAW MILL

WOOD

STEAM POWER

ADMINISTRATION

ARCHITECTS

MEDICAL

MEMBERSHIP

PUBLISHING

PRINT SHOP

OFFICE

ENGINEERING

SCHOOLS

SIERRA MADRE

MONTESSORI

FISH HATCHERY

HOTEL

LIBRARY

SANITARY

ART STUDIO

BEES

BAKERY

COMMISSARY

WOMEN'S SEWING

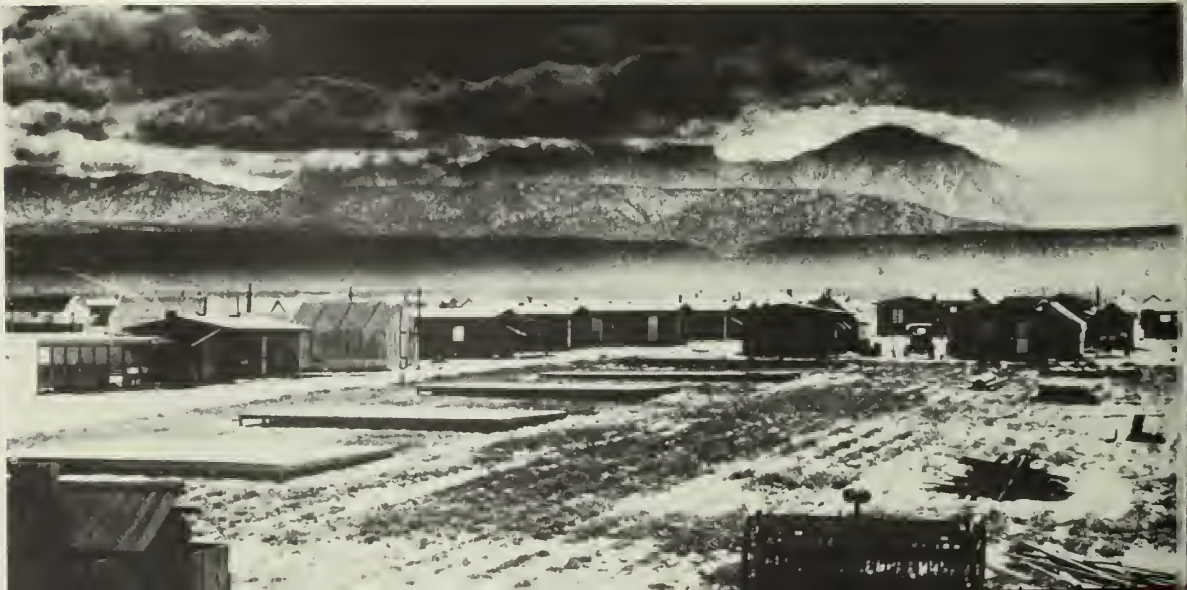
PURCHASING AGENT

OUTSIDE RANCHES

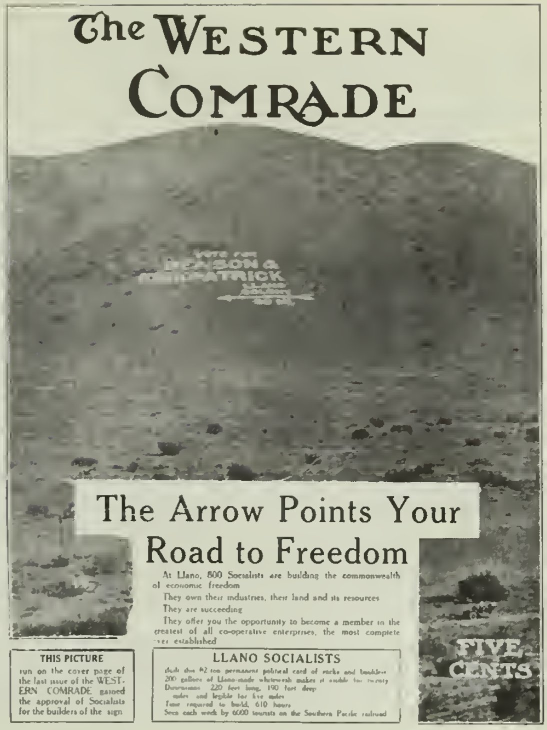
WATER DEVELOPMENT

Organization chart (ca. 1916) reveals the profusion of tasks carried on in the colony. Members' names were posted to work specialities by a Managing Board that shifted the men around to prevent their being kept at unpopular tasks.

A chill blanket of snow emphasizes the bleak setting of the colony, located in the Mojave Desert at the eastern base of the San Gabriel Mountains, 20 miles from Palmdale. At the time of this photograph (ca. 1916), most of the original tent houses were still in use.



High on an arid hillside near Palmdale, colonists lettered a 220-foot sign of whitewashed boulders "visible for twenty miles and legible for five" in 1916 to promote the candidacies of two Socialist office-seekers and to advertise the colony. The Western Comrade, *(right) was the official organ of the socialist Party in California, 1913 to 1918.*



The WESTERN COMRADE

The Arrow Points Your Road to Freedom

At Llano, 800 Socialists are building the commonwealth of economic freedom

They own their industries, their land and its resources

They are succeeding

They offer you the opportunity to become a member in the greatest of all co-operative enterprises, the most complete ever established

THIS PICTURE

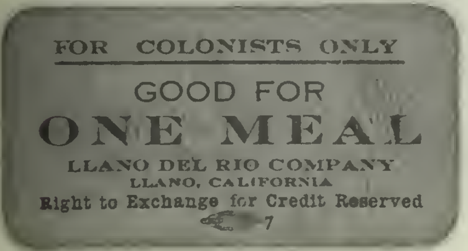
run on the cover page of the last issue of the WESTERN COMRADE gained the approval of Socialists for the builders of the sign

LLANO SOCIALISTS

built this 62 ton permanent political card of rocks and boulders
200 gallons of Llano-made whitewash makes it visible for twenty
Dimensions 220 feet long, 190 feet deep
miles and legible for five miles
Time required to build, 610 hours
Seen each week by 6000 tourists on the Southern Pacific railroad

FIVE CENTS

Lacking capital resources, the colony often had to reimburse its members in services rather than cash. The meal-ticket was a fixture of the labor-exchange program.

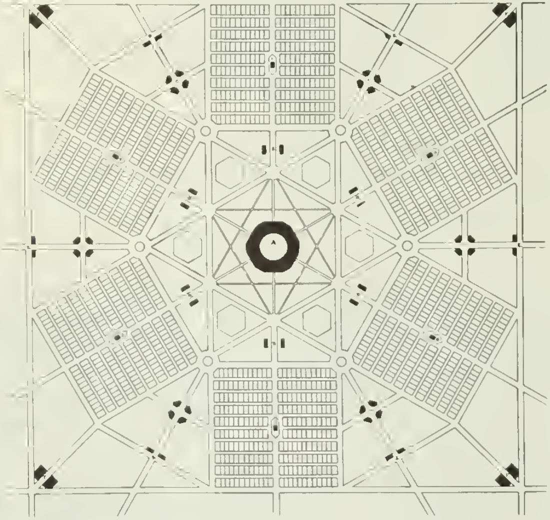


FOR COLONISTS ONLY
GOOD FOR
ONE MEAL
LLANO DEL RIO COMPANY
LLANO, CALIFORNIA
Right to Exchange for Credit Reserved
7

Llano's principal founder, Job Harriman, grew up on an Indiana farm and was trained for the ministry, but he rejected religion for the study of law. Harriman moved to California in 1886, and became a socialist around 1890. During the 1890's he was increasingly attracted to the utopian movement. He joined a Nationalist club and also became interested in Altruria, a short-lived California community inspired by William Dean Howells' 1894 novel, *A Traveler from Altruria.* For twenty years, Harriman was active in socialist politics. He was a vice-presidential candidate on a ticket headed by Eugene Debs in 1900, and came close to being elected mayor of Los Angeles in 1911. A major issue in this campaign was the case of the radical McNamara brothers who were accused of bombing the Los Angeles *Times* building. Harriman supported the brothers' cause, but a few days before the election they confessed to the crime, firmly ending any chance Harriman had of winning.

Turning from politics, Harriman decided to start a colony. A site in the Antelope Valley was chosen for the location of the community after a long search. An earlier colony of temperance advocates had completed some of the work necessary to irrigate the land, and still held bonds in the name of the Mescal Water and Land Company, which Harriman and his supporters were able to buy at a low price. One source reported that Harriman paid only $5 down! Harriman advertised his colony in the socialist press and began selling company stock late in 1913. Walter Millsap, a long term member of the colony, described the results in a taped interview:

Carload of new colonists, with their luggage roped to the running boards, arrives at the main entrance on Llano Boulevard. New residents were a mixed blessing. Although each new family contributed a small nest egg to the general fund, it also added more mouths to be fed from the colony's limited foodstocks.



*Grandiose plan for the city of Llano (*Western Comrade, *March 1915) incorporated radial and symmetrical features that were common to most utopian proposals of the period, and are still popular elements in communitarian plans today.*

Applicants were required to fill out an extensive questionnaire that probed their beliefs with queries such as these.

Application for Membership
in the
Llano Del Rio Co-operative Colony

Only industrious men and women of high ideals and constructive ideas with reputations for good citizenship are desirable members of the LLANO DEL RIO CO-OPERATIVE COLONY. If you are willing to put your whole ability and spirit into this enterprise, to work in harmony with your fellow co-operators, and to abide by the rules adopted, you will be cordially welcomed as part of this noble enterprise.

☐ Do you believe in the profit system?

☐ What should be done with an article that evidently was lost by someone?

☐ Will solving the economic problem ultimately lead to solving the social problem?

☐ Is happiness a state of mind or dependent upon affluent material conditions?

☐ Do you believe in a peaceful settlement of ALL misunderstandings?

They made the colossal blunder of selling stock according to the ordinary method—you get a fiscal agent and he goes out and sells stock for a commission. The agent promised everything under the sun and heaven on earth if they'd sign on the dotted line and give him $500, why they could just live in paradise from then on. It wasn't quite paradise.[1]

Harriman soon reorganized the Mescal Water and Land Company as the Llano del Rio Company of California. The company issued 2,000,000 shares of stock, valued at $1 each. Membership in the community required the purchase of 2,000 shares. Members were at first asked to make a down payment of $500, later of $750. The balance was to be paid at the rate of a dollar a day out of the $4 a day wages the colony offered. This amount was never actually paid members, but almost no one cared. A member said:

> All the bookkeeping systems broke down, all the meal ticket systems fell down. But everyone knew whether the other fellow was doing his part or whether he was sick and they just dumped the whole thing in the ash can and went to the table and ate dinner.[2]

Does Your Town

Supply you with work when you are out of a job?
Furnish you with free medical attendance?
Take any interest in your affairs at all?
Insure a living for your family?

Establish industries and develop resources?
Give you an interest in the affairs of the town?
Undertake to create an intelligent understanding of its problems?

MOVE To a Town That Does!

Preparedness? No. Just a Llano Drive Against Brer Rabbit

LLANO offers you many advantages; It owns

Its brick yard, lime kiln and saw mill.
Its planing mill, cabinet shop, paint shop, rug works.
Its swimming pool and baths, its machine shop, blacksmith shop.
The laundry, printing plant, cannery, shoe shop.
Telephone line and hotel; tailor shop and art studio.
Its dairy and creamery; its bees, gardens, orchards
Its rabbitries, poultry yards, alfalfa fields, hogs, and horses.
A stage line and tractors and trucks. Its fields and nursery.
Many other industries.

YOU are an equal owner in ALL of these things

This is the reason so many people come to Llano. It is the only city in the world that takes care of its citizens. It is the only city that provides for its aged without giving charity. It is the only city that offers equal opportunity and guarantees a living to all. It is the only city that is progressive in every direction. It offers you the things you are striving for, and it offers you independence. It offers freedom from worry, security and pleasant surroundings.

The World's Best Insurance Policy

is a membership in the Llano del Rio Community. There is nothing to equal it, nothing that even approaches it. Investigate it at once.

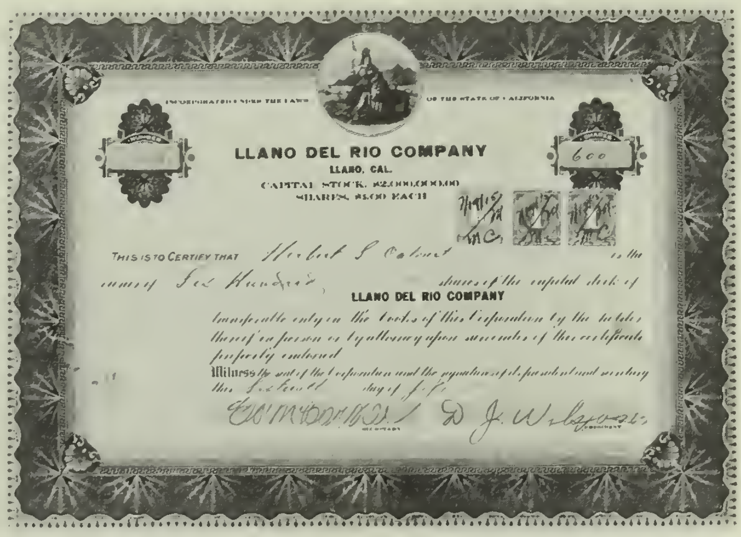
SEND FOR FREE ILLUSTRATED BOOKLET "THE GATEWAY TO FREEDOM"

ADDRESS:

Llano del Rio Company
OF NEVADA
Journal Building
Reno, Nevada

An exhortation from The Western Comrade, *August-September, 1916.*

A socialistic paradox: a stock certificate for shares in a cooperative community. Sale of stock was rationalized under a complex vision of socialistic economics.


INCORPORATED UNDER THE LAWS OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

LLANO DEL RIO COMPANY
LLANO, CAL.

600

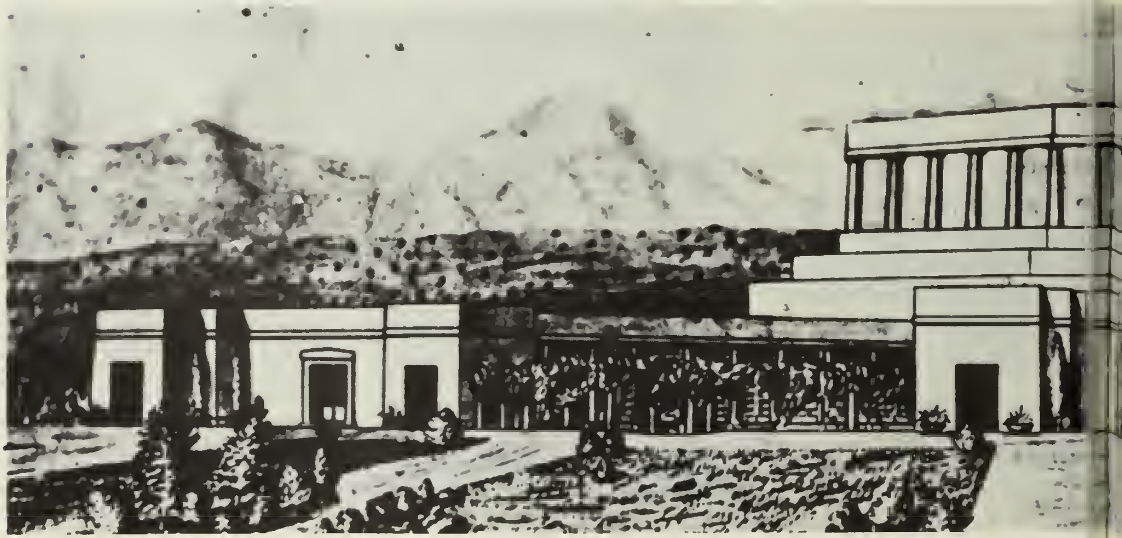
THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT

LLANO DEL RIO COMPANY

Witness

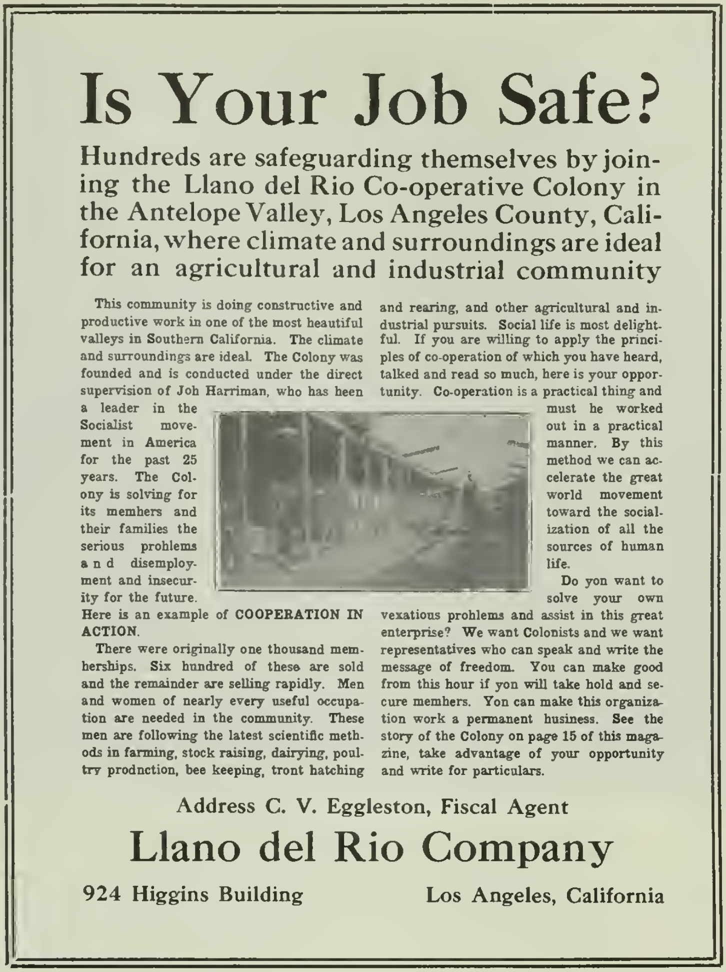
Never lacking for fieldstones, raked out of the desert when the land was cleared for planting, the colonists used them in building houses, fireplaces, walls, and irrigation ditches. Here, the workmen are constructing one of the larger buildings, probably the hotel. Llano's housing accommodations never did measure up to their proposed magnificence. The new residents were first quartered in tent-covered wooden platforms, then moved to adobe houses (which tended to melt in the rain), and finally to stone and wood buildings.

Grandiloquent plan for a central building which never got beyond the drawing board.



Llano opened on May Day, 1914, with five families, five pigs, a team of horses, and a cow. By early 1915 membership had grown to 150, and there were 100 cows and as many hogs. According to an early Llano colonist, Ernest Wooster, who at one time was business manager of Llano's magazine, *The Western Comrade:*

> The problem of housing became so important that other work had to be dropped to care for this pressing necessity. . . . Incoming people were finally put into tents for the most part, and the canvas village of Llano covered a population of devoted idealists determined to demonstrate the success and practicability of their principles. A little later houses of adobe were built, the brick being moulded in hard moulds the usual size of commer-



Is Your Job Safe?

Hundreds are safeguarding themselves by joining the Llano del Rio Co-operative Colony in the Antelope Valley, Los Angeles County, California, where climate and surroundings are ideal for an agricultural and industrial community

This community is doing constructive and productive work in one of the most beautiful valleys in Southern California. The climate and surroundings are ideal. The Colony was founded and is conducted under the direct supervision of Joh Harriman, who has been a leader in the Socialist movement in America for the past 25 years. The Colony is solving for its members and their families the serious problems and disemployment and insecurity for the future. Here is an example of **COOPERATION IN ACTION.**

There were originally one thousand memberships. Six hundred of these are sold and the remainder are selling rapidly. Men and women of nearly every useful occupation are needed in the community. These men are following the latest scientific methods in farming, stock raising, dairying, poultry production, bee keeping, trout hatching and rearing, and other agricultural and industrial pursuits. Social life is most delightful. If you are willing to apply the principles of co-operation of which you have heard, talked and read so much, here is your opportunity. Co-operation is a practical thing and must be worked out in a practical manner. By this method we can accelerate the great world movement toward the socialization of all the sources of human life.

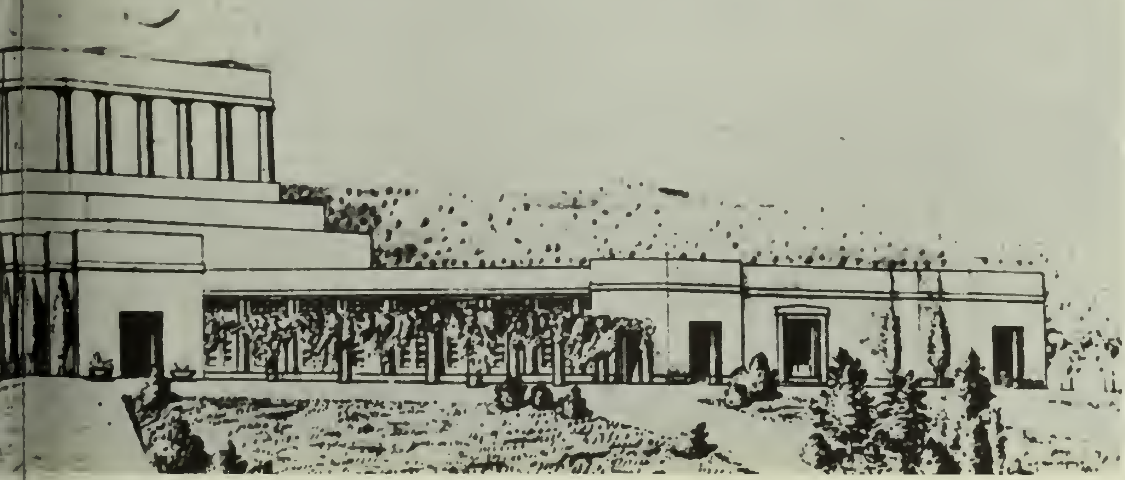
Do you want to solve your own vexatious problems and assist in this great enterprise? We want Colonists and we want representatives who can speak and write the message of freedom. You can make good from this hour if you will take hold and secure members. You can make this organization work a permanent business. See the story of the Colony on page 15 of this magazine, take advantage of your opportunity and write for particulars.

Address C. V. Eggleston, Fiscal Agent

Llano del Rio Company

924 Higgins Building Los Angeles, California

A page from The Western Comrade, *June, 1915.*



Children were expected to help in sowing seeds for future crops. The colony's agricultural production was remarkably successful. During its first year, the colony produced seventy-five per cent of the food it consumed and by 1916 was producing about ninety per cent. Before the group disbanded, it had more than 2,000 acres planted to alfalfa, corn, truck crops, and pear trees. One of the most abundant crops was carrots — a vegetable that the colonists came to know altogether too well.

Girls prepare freshly harvested apples for canning, about 1916.

*The bulging load
No. 10 cans on Llan
second truck atte
to the volume
goods produced
the canne*

cial brick, and laid in the ordinary way.[3]

Llano Co-operators Do These Things:

Make soap, bread, butter, shirts, overalls, shoes, rugs, gloves, and vinegar.
Can fruit and vegetables.
Print a magazine, a newspaper and do job printing.
Wash clothes in their own steam laundry.
Raise garden truck, berries, and fruit.
Grow alfalfa and forage crops.
Operate auto truck transportation and stages.
Conduct two hotels.
Educate their children in their own Montessori and Industrial schools.
Store goods in their own warehouse.
Repair autos in their machine shop.
Educate their own stenographers.
Have an art studio.
Saw their own lumber.
Shoe horses.
Have a community barber shop.
Have their own doctors.
Give free medical attention.
Own pure bred and high grade hogs, fine cattle, range cattle, horses, tractors, automobiles, goats, chickens, rabbits, turkeys, bees.
Build houses for residents, and public buildings for the Colony.
Possess and control an irrigation system.
Have some fine young orchards, alfalfa fields, cattle ranges, etc.
They do these things for the good of all of the people in the Colony.
DO YOU KNOW OF ANOTHER SUCH TOWN?
Would n't you like to live where service, not profit, comes first?

Write for Literature

Llano del Rio Company
LLANO, CALIFORNIA

Other buildings included a hotel, two barns, a concrete silo, a dairy, an office building, a cannery, and two industrial buildings. In addition, colonists laid miles of irrigation ditches, and planted 240 acres of alfalfa and 200 acres of orchards.

By 1917, according to Wooster,[4] Llano industries included a print shop, shoe shop, laundry, cannery, clothes cleaning, warehouse, machine shop, blacksmith shop, rug making, planing mill, range stock, hog raising, dairy goats, soap making, lumbering, publishing newspaper and magazine, bakery, fish hatchery, transportation, barber shops, overalls and shirt making, paint shop, lime kiln, dairy, cabinet shop, nursery, alfalfa, orchards, poultry, gardens, rabbitry, and brick making.
The colony at this time numbered over 1000. New arrivals brought needed cash, used to build roads, a quarry, houses, a hotel, and schools. But the new arrivals had to eat, too, and the colonists were troubled by poor and monotonous food—sometimes carrots were the only vegetable—and by inadequate shelter. The adobe

#10
cans for
Llano Canner

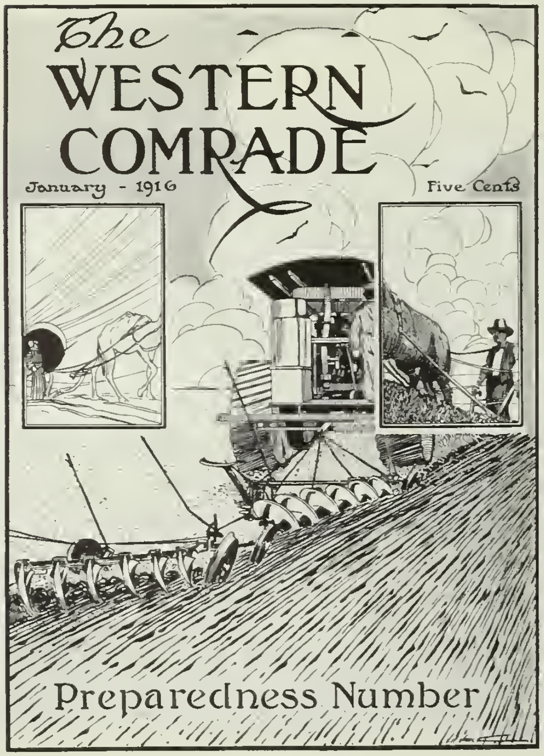
houses they built melted in the desert rain. A 12-year-old girl described one winter:

> We had the awfulest rain and wind that I have ever seen. It blew the top of the hotel porch off and part of the dining room. It blew many of the tents down. . . . Our tent leaks awful.[5]

Perhaps in reaction to these conditions, colonists often wasted time and energy on get-rich-quick schemes. One man planned an airplane, which when perfected would be within the price range of most families. He built a model on an empty patch of Llano land, but when it was finished he was so afraid of testing it that he set it on fire instead, supposedly by accident.

Other colonists prospected for gold, while still others listened to a man who claimed to be a water witch. They dug a number of dry wells before they relinquished their belief in the willow wand. Another visionary promoted turnips as a cash crop but never planted any. There was a complainer named Gibbons who always groused about how things were run but was always too sick to do any work. Through subsequent years at Llano, slackers were called Gibbonites.

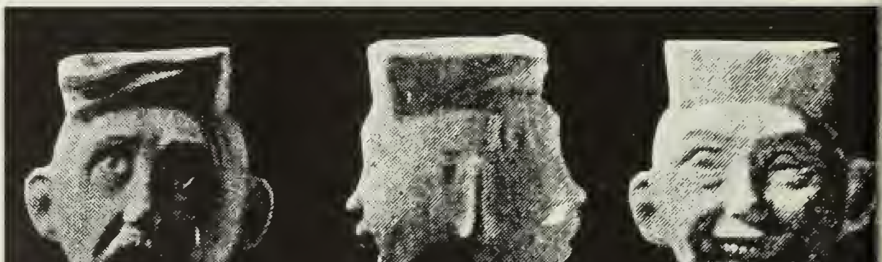
The colonists may have lived largely on carrots and dreams, but they often found ways to have a good time. Harriman emphasized "equal social opportunities," and colony dances, open to outside visitors, were held weekly. Harriman cherished and shared his plan for Llano as the city of the future, 10,000 strong,



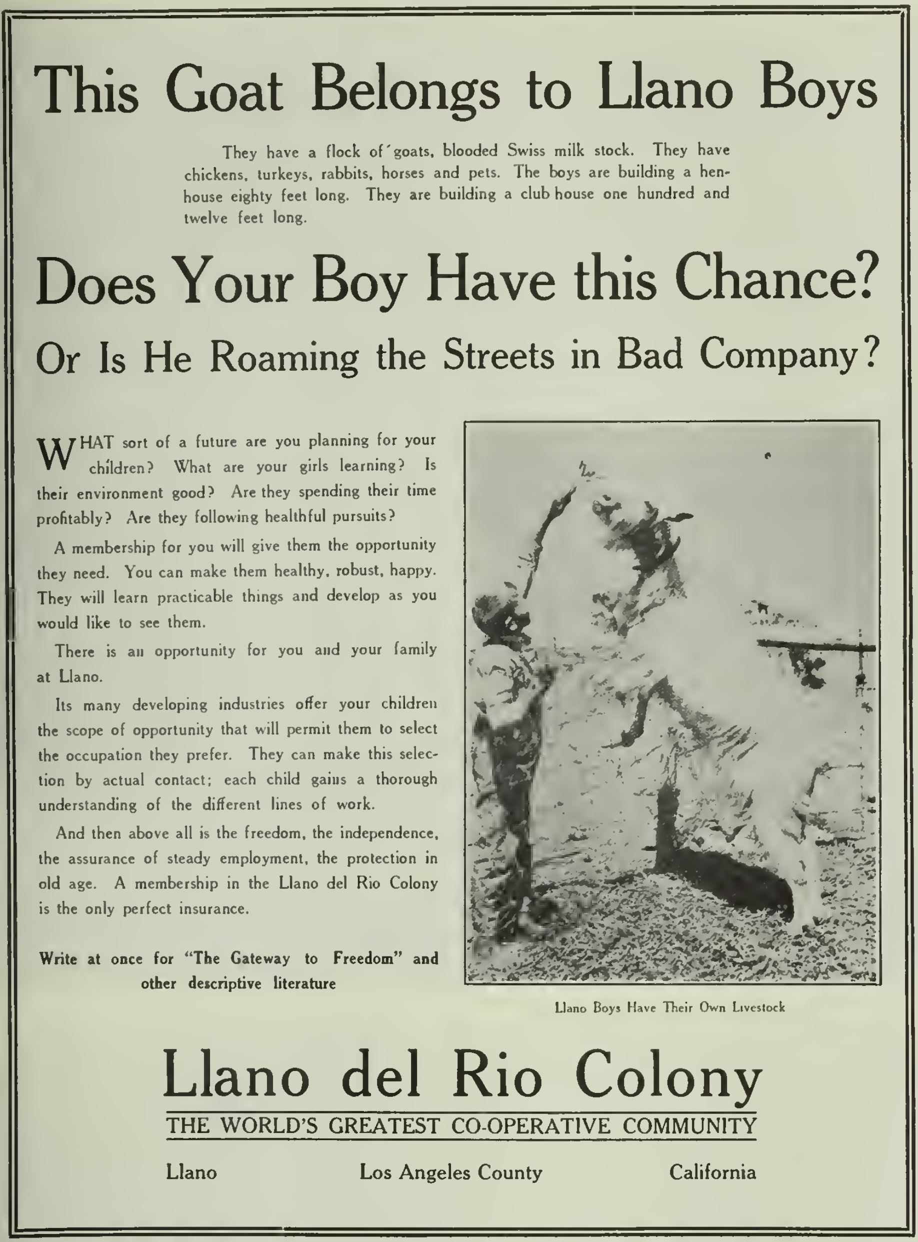
Printing was a major endeavor at Llano throughout its history, partly because of the abundance of socialist rhetoric generated in the colony. Printer above right *locks up galleys for proofing for a letterpress publication. The plant also had sheet-fed offset equipment. Students from the Llano school* (right) *learned to operate a linotype as part of their technical training. Quality standards for job printing were fairly high. Once in a while, the plant outdid itself by producing work such as the two-color line drawing reproduced on the magazine cover at the left.*

Collators assemble a publication in the print shop, which depended on women to process much of the handwork.

Pushing a theme with an uncomfortab modern connotation, the Llano color advertised for families that were worryir even then about "street people." No that by October of 1916, the colony fe sufficiently self-confident to proclaim itse "The World's greatest Co-operati Community



Plaster-cast souvenir, of somewhat dubious aesthetic charms, depicts the joyful transformation of one Henry Dubb after he came to Llano.



This Goat Belongs to Llano Boys

They have a flock of goats, blooded Swiss milk stock. They have chickens, turkeys, rabbits, horses and pets. The boys are building a hen-house eighty feet long. They are building a club house one hundred and twelve feet long.

Does Your Boy Have this Chance?

Or Is He Roaming the Streets in Bad Company?

WHAT sort of a future are you planning for your children? What are your girls learning? Is their environment good? Are they spending their time profitably? Are they following healthful pursuits?

A membership for you will give them the opportunity they need. You can make them healthy, robust, happy. They will learn practicable things and develop as you would like to see them.

There is an opportunity for you and your family at Llano.

Its many developing industries offer your children the scope of opportunity that will permit them to select the occupation they prefer. They can make this selection by actual contact; each child gains a thorough understanding of the different lines of work.

And then above all is the freedom, the independence, the assurance of steady employment, the protection in old age. A membership in the Llano del Rio Colony is the only perfect insurance.

Write at once for "The Gateway to Freedom" and other descriptive literature

Llano Boys Have Their Own Livestock

Llano del Rio Colony

THE WORLD'S GREATEST CO-OPERATIVE COMMUNITY

Llano Los Angeles County California

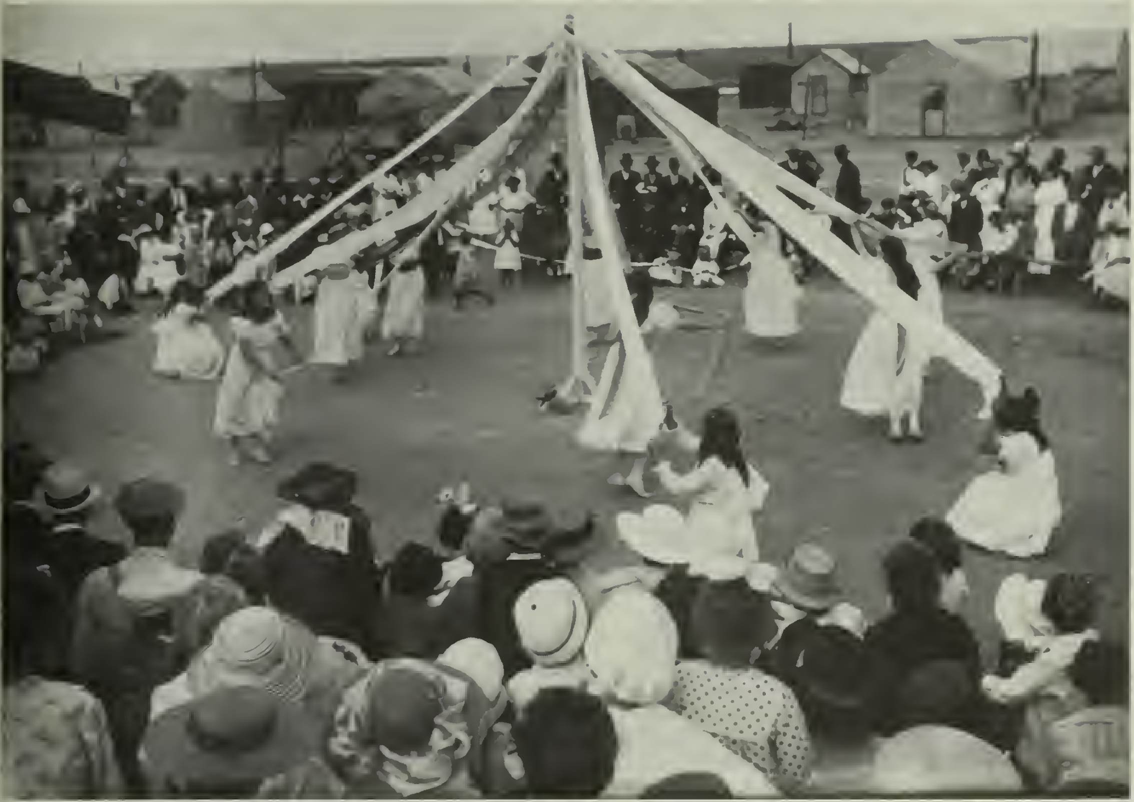
with five-room houses for every family. Pursuing this vision, Llanoites lost sight of more mundane problems, and were surprised when the California Commissioner of Corporations condemned the colony for polluting its water supply and profiteering at the co-operative store.

Following the Commissioner's investigation, Harriman was faced with mutiny, and retained control only through a legal maneuver—he established a new Llano del Rio Company in Nevada beyond the reach of the California authorities, and used its stock to buy all the California property. Llano remained a Nevada corporation. Harriman's leadership, however, was often threatened by rebellious colonists. Harriman founded his colony with the firm belief that "the hearts and minds of men would be as sweet and gentle and loving as in babyhood, if the stream of life were not polluted by the vicious methods of the universal conflict of interests."[6] The results of his experiment did not strengthen his belief. In 1924 he wrote:

> Men and women would gather around the fire in the large hotel room of an evening and discuss the various phases of socialism as they had imagined them . . . And yet these very same people when in the shop or field would act as differently as they would have acted had they never heard of socialism.
>
> Some were selfish, arrogant, and egotistical and shirked their duties, quit early, went to work late, rested often, talked much, criticized everything and every-

When they were not toiling in the fields or arguing socialist doctrine, the Llanoites enjoyed themselves in a relaxed round of dances and socials, climaxed with the annual celebration of May Day. With all the flags and bunting of a Fourth of July celebration, the colony produced a memorable festival in 1917, featuring sack races, parades, concerts and dramatics. The Llano band, (above), *ensconced on a bunting-draped platform, played patriotic and revolutionary tunes.*

The choral society, costumed for the day, launches with gusto into a song. Favorite of the day: The Marseillaise.



After a barbecue supper, girls from the Llano school twirled around the May Pole. The evening was concluded by a performance by the dramatic club of "Mishaps of Minerva" followed by dancing in the assembly hall.

Jets of steam rise from standpipes at the soap factory and a worker slices a raw block of soap into laundry cakes. This was one of the few industries developed by the colony for its self-support. Unfortunately, the plant consumed an undue volume of water and contributed to the critical water shortage.

body, wanted the lion's share at the commisary, wanted the best houses, with extra furniture, neglected the animals, were careless with tools, and did everything that might be thought of by those who were seeking the advantage of those about them . . . The selfish persisted in their course with a persistence that was amazing.[7]

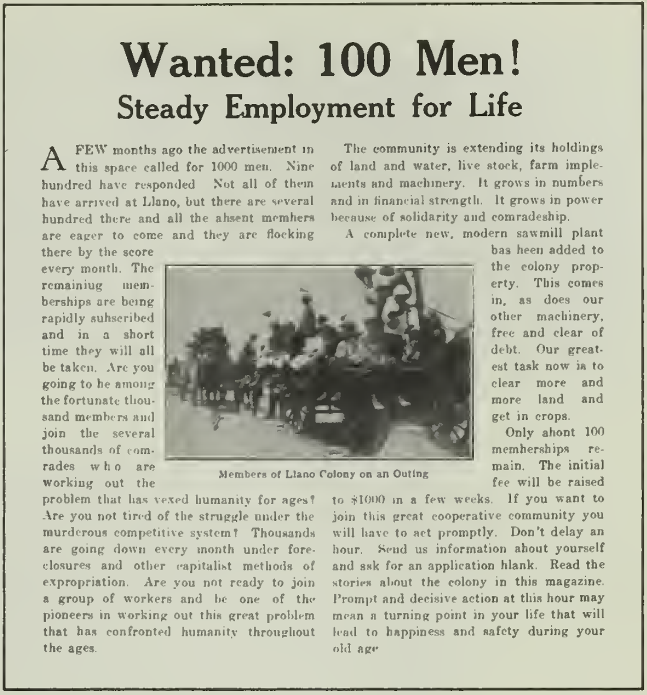
The colony directors once threatened to post the names of all those who failed to work as "parasites," but the selfish at Llano still persisted in their course, often exploiting their general assembly, intended as an expression of the freedom allowed the colonists:

> It was Democracy rampant, belligerent, unrestricted; an inquisition, a mental pillory, a mad house of meddlesomeness and attempts at business, a jumble of passions and idealism—and all in deadly earnest. . . . It became a Frankenstein which threatened to destroy the colony. It was the fruit of the propaganda for democracy of the early soap-boxers, but these street-corner orators had utterly failed to define what democracy means. The General Assembly was democracy with the lid off.[8]

Factionalism became so extreme that one man complained that his adobe house was not completed although he had a sick child because he was not "standing with the right crowd."

One minority group within the colony began holding secret meetings in the sagebrush at night. They called themselves the Welfare League, and demanded an even more extreme form of democracy than the general assembly provided—a popular vote to be taken on every plan before it was put into effect. Wooster wrote:

> The "democrats" were offered the alfalfa industry to be operated experimentally by them according to their democratic notions. If their plan proved to be all they claimed for it, other in-



Wanted: 100 Men!

Steady Employment for Life

A FEW months ago the advertisement in this space called for 1000 men. Nine hundred have responded Not all of them have arrived at Llano, but there are several hundred there and all the absent members are eager to come and they are flocking there by the score every month. The remaining memberships are being rapidly subscribed and in a short time they will all be taken. Are you going to be among the fortunate thousand members and join the several thousands of comrades who are working out the problem that has vexed humanity for ages? Are you not tired of the struggle under the murderous competitive system? Thousands are going down every month under foreclosures and other capitalist methods of expropriation. Are you not ready to join a group of workers and be one of the pioneers in working out this great problem that has confronted humanity throughout the ages.

Members of Llano Colony on an Outing

The community is extending its holdings of land and water, live stock, farm implements and machinery. It grows in numbers and in financial strength. It grows in power because of solidarity and comradeship.

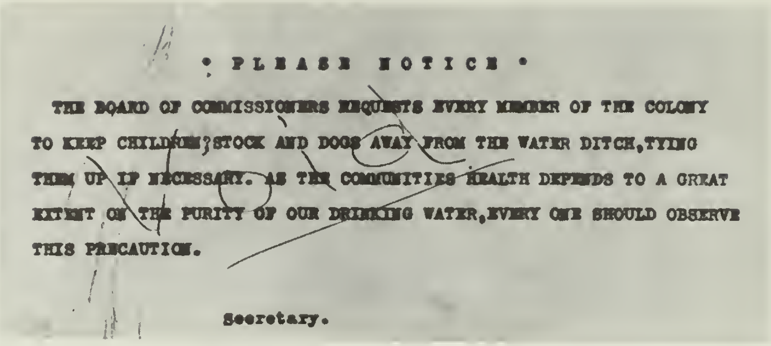
A complete new, modern sawmill plant has been added to the colony property. This comes in, as does our other machinery, free and clear of debt. Our greatest task now is to clear more and more land and get in crops.

Only about 100 memberships remain. The initial fee will be raised to $1000 in a few weeks. If you want to join this great cooperative community you will have to act promptly. Don't delay an hour. Send us information about yourself and ask for an application blank. Read the stories about the colony in this magazine. Prompt and decisive action at this hour may mean a turning point in your life that will lead to happiness and safety during your old age

Promises of life-long employment, such as this advertisement in The Western Comrade *(November 1915), attracted some colonists with more materialistic than idealistic goals, who were reluctant to work industriously and hampered the colony's productivity.*

LLANO
PALMDALE
LLANO STUDIO

Ditch diggers pause in their labors to face the camera of Meyer Elkins, colony photographer, whose studio is visible at the left. Irrigation ditches were dug in anticipation of a dam on Big Rock Creek, which was never constructed.

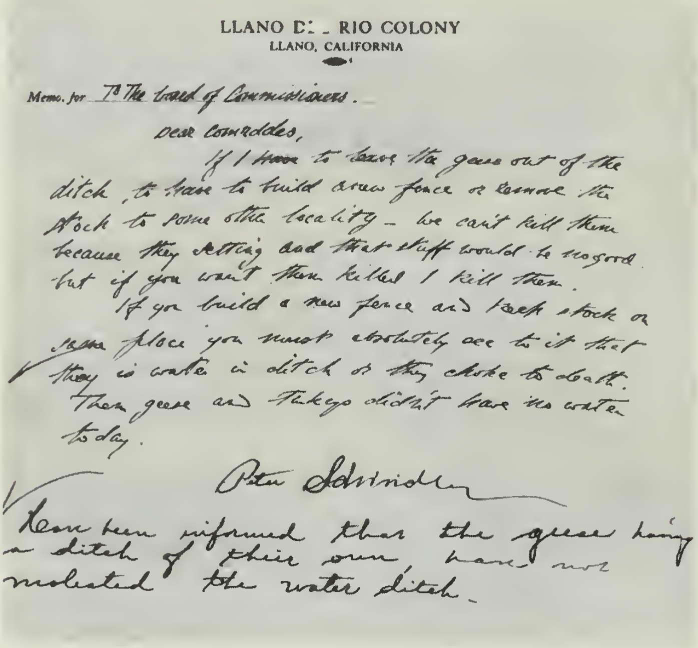


• PLEASE NOTICE •

THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS REQUESTS EVERY MEMBER OF THE COLONY TO KEEP CHILDREN,STOCK AND DOGS AWAY FROM THE WATER DITCH,TYING THEM UP IF NECESSARY. AS THE COMMUNITIES HEALTH DEPENDS TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE PURITY OF OUR DRINKING WATER,EVERY ONE SHOULD OBSERVE THIS PRECAUTION.

Secretary.

Water was scarce and polluted. Regulations were promulgated to force respect for this precious commodity, but with only moderate success. Shortage of water was one of the main reasons for closing down the colony.



LLANO DEL RIO COLONY
LLANO, CALIFORNIA

Memo. for To The board of Commissioners.

Dear Comraddes,

If I have to leave the geese out of the ditch, to have to build a new fence or remove the stock to some other locality – we can't kill them because they setting and that stuff would be no good. but if you want them killed I kill them.

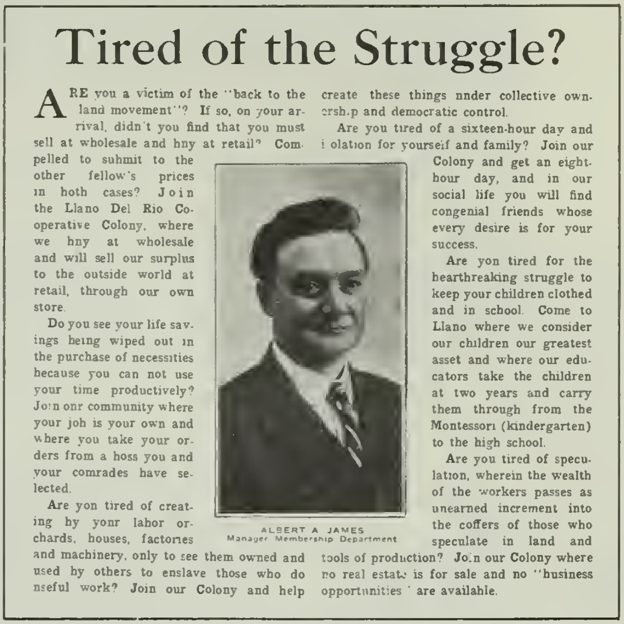
If you build a new fence and keep stock on same place you must absolutely see to it that they is water in ditch or they choke to death. Then geese and Turkeys didn't have no water to day.

Peter Schindler

Have been informed that the geese having a ditch of their own, have not molested the water ditch.

dustries were to be shifted one by one.[9]

The entire colony assembled to discuss the plan. Members of the Welfare League came in wearing sagebrush pinned to their clothing as a symbol of their organization, and rejected the plan. Harriman expelled their leaders from the colony and the insurrection ended, but "brush gang" remained in the language of Llano, referring to those "chronically and unreasonably disgruntled.[10]



Tired of the Struggle?

ARE you a victim of the "back to the land movement"? If so, on your arrival, didn't you find that you must sell at wholesale and buy at retail? Compelled to submit to the other fellow's prices in both cases? Join the Llano Del Rio Co-operative Colony, where we buy at wholesale and will sell our surplus to the outside world at retail, through our own store.

Do you see your life savings being wiped out in the purchase of necessities because you can not use your time productively? Join our community where your job is your own and where you take your orders from a boss you and your comrades have selected.

Are you tired of creating by your labor orchards, houses, factories and machinery, only to see them owned and used by others to enslave those who do useful work? Join our Colony and help create these things under collective ownership and democratic control.

Are you tired of a sixteen-hour day and isolation for yourself and family? Join our Colony and get an eight-hour day, and in our social life you will find congenial friends whose every desire is for your success.

Are you tired for the heartbreaking struggle to keep your children clothed and in school. Come to Llano where we consider our children our greatest asset and where our educators take the children at two years and carry them through from the Montessori (kindergarten) to the high school.

Are you tired of speculation, wherein the wealth of the workers passes as unearned increment into the coffers of those who speculate in land and tools of production? Join our Colony where no real estate is for sale and no "business opportunities" are available.

ALBERT A. JAMES
Manager Membership Department

A plea for more members, published in The Western Comrade, *August, 1915.*

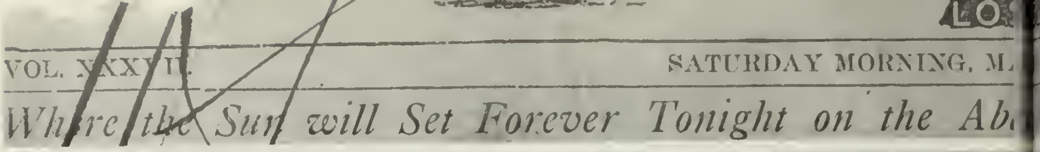
An article in the Llano promotional magazine, *Western Comrade*, attempted to discourage the arrival of more potential brush gangers:

> Those who imagine, as some of our newcomers do, that a complete revolution of the methods of getting must immediately obtain upon their arrivel here, are due for a shock. We are not attempting an Utopian phantasmagoria, but are constantly dealing with things of life, nature and harness and horses, plows, wood cutting and the building of homes.[11]

Llano might have survived the quarrels among its members, but it was faced with a problem much more severe—the problem of how the colony's expanding membership could live off its barren land. Llano's irrigated acres simply could not support 1000 people, no matter how great their dedication and enthusiasm.

In the midst of its financial difficulties, Llano was betrayed by one of its own officers. Gentry Purviance McCorkle, secretary of the colony, "brought the hopes

All that remains of the water system today is this dry fountain, baking in the desert sun. (Photograph by Paul Kagan)



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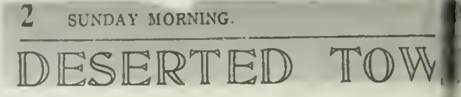
VOL. XXXVII.

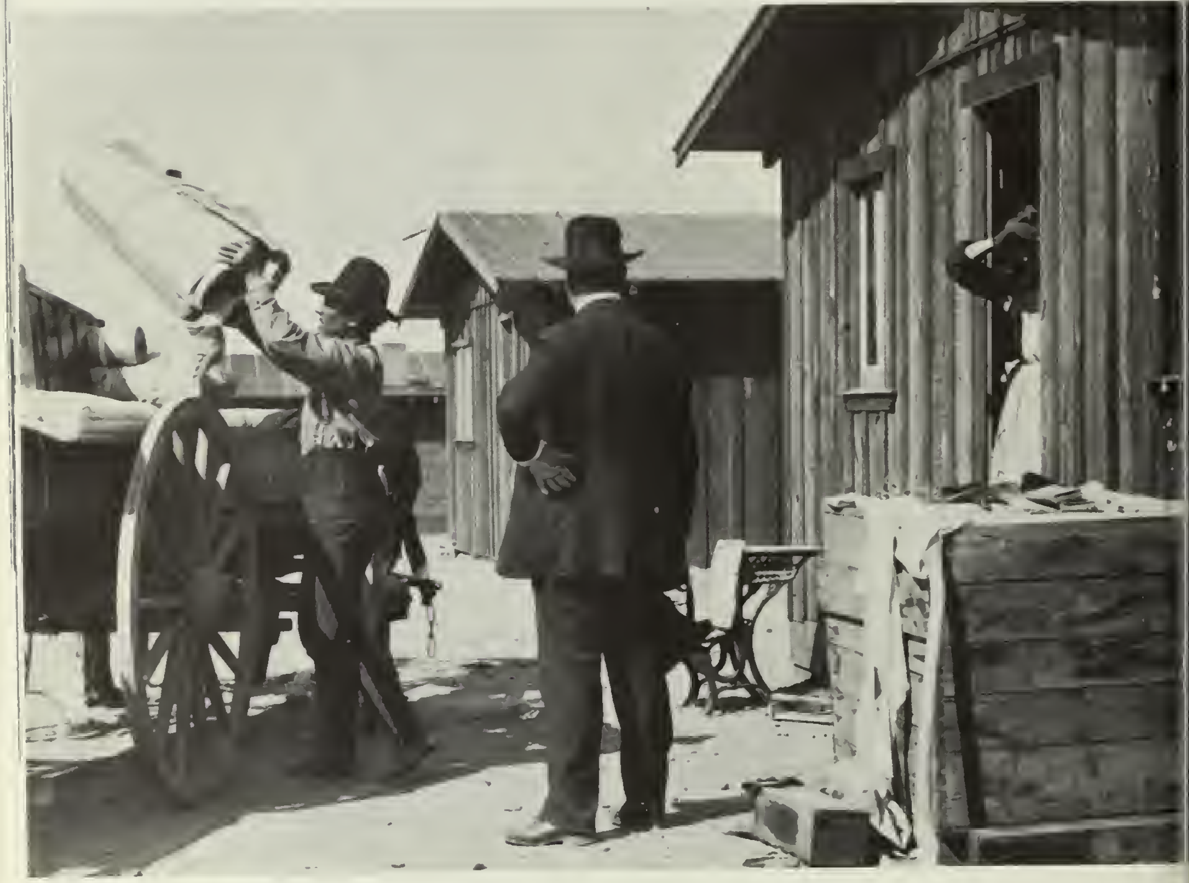
SATURDAY MORNING, M

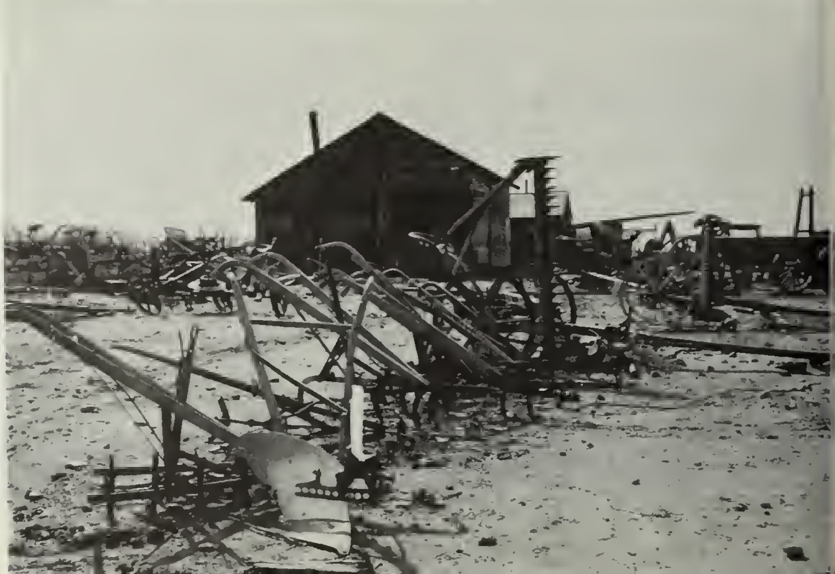
Where the Sun will Set Forever Tonight on the Ab



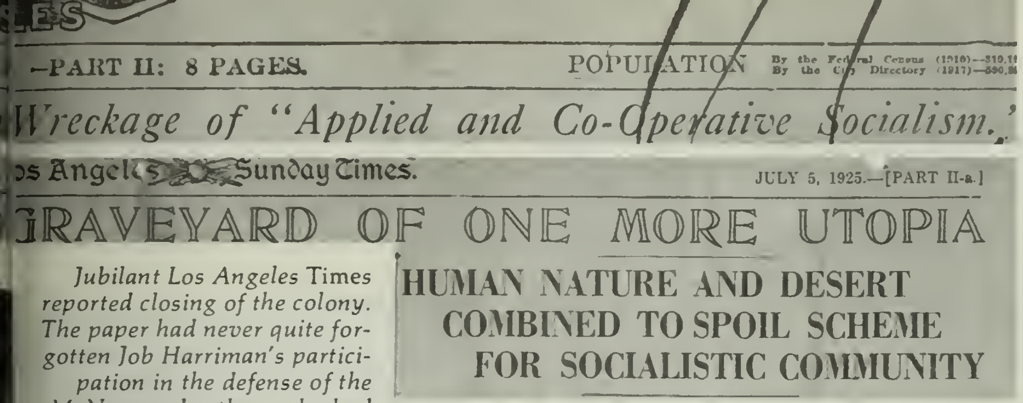
2 SUNDAY MORNING.

DESERTED TOW





End of the grand experiment: Colonists began to move out early in 1918. More than a hundred migrated to a new site in Louisiana. Left behind: scores of farm machines. The buildings were quickly sacked and stripped after the shutdown.



—PART II: 8 PAGES. POPULATION By the Federal Census (1910)—319,1 By the City Directory (1917)—590,8

Wreckage of "Applied and Co-Operative Socialism."

os Angeles Sunday Times. JULY 5, 1925.—[PART II-a.]

GRAVEYARD OF ONE MORE UTOPIA

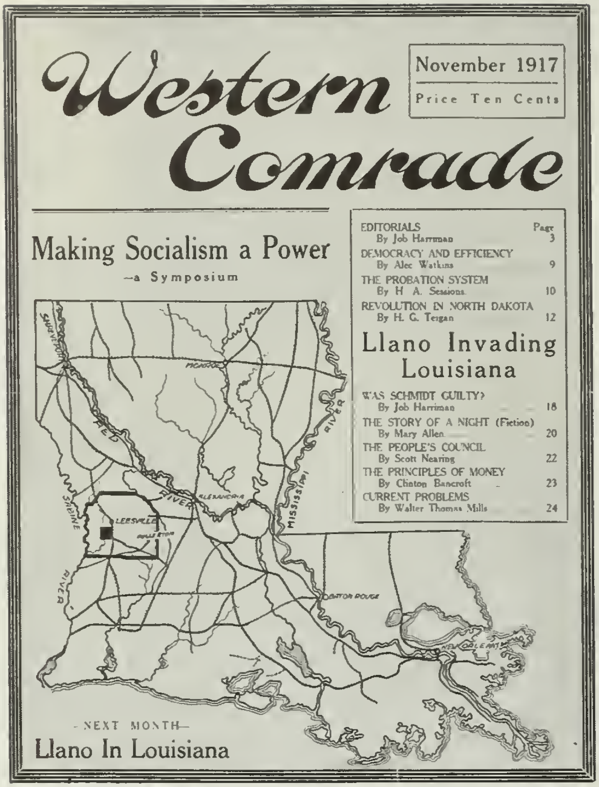
HUMAN NATURE AND DESERT COMBINED TO SPOIL SCHEME FOR SOCIALISTIC COMMUNITY

Jubilant Los Angeles Times *reported closing of the colony. The paper had never quite forgotten Job Harriman's participation in the defense of the McNamara brothers who had confessed to the bombing of the* Times *plant in 1911.*

of the California enterprise to an end. What would undoubtedly have developed into a substantial and valuable estate was made a failure because of the grasping short sightedness of one who considered his own interests first and did not hesitate to use the most unscrupulous means."[12] McCorkle told the story in his autobiography, "Wayside Memories of a Tennessee Rebel."[13]

> During 1916 I began to see that the colony was slipping. . . . In order to protect my investment, I organized the Llano Investment Company. . . . I then transferred to this company various properties that had not been mortgaged and also the colony notes for money owed me. I did not issue all of the stock, just . . . 50% to myself.

McCorkle considered Llano a lost cause because of the conflict between colony members and the other citizens of the Big Rock Water District. Llano went to court over the right to irrigate its acres. The opposing attorney spoke of "Socialistic plunderers" and the case was lost. McCorkle believed the decision rendered the land valueless—"nothing but jack rabbits and stink weeds"—and he moved to protect himself. McCorkle's financial manipulations precipitated a plan



Western Comrade

November 1917
Price Ten Cents

Making Socialism a Power
—a Symposium

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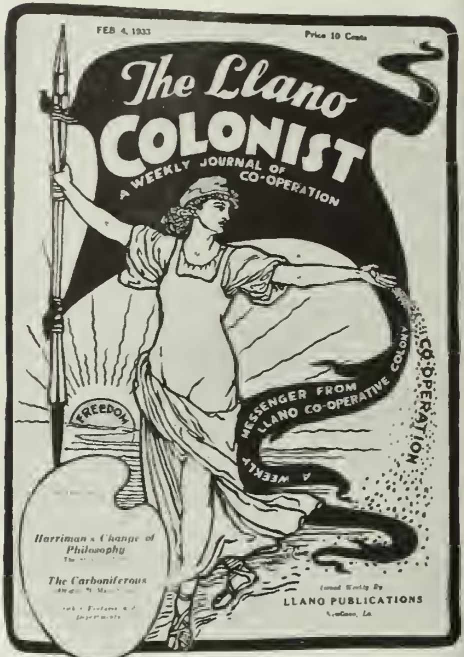
—NEXT MONTH—
Llano In Louisiana

SHREVEPORT
RED RIVER
SABINE RIVER
LEESVILLE
ALEXANDRIA
MISSISSIPPI RIVER
BATON ROUGE
NEW ORLEANS

Moving of the colony to a 20,000-acre location in Louisiana was announced in the November 1917 issue of The Western Comrade. *A new magazine,* The Llano Colonist, *appeared weekly in Louisiana until the colony's demise in the thirties.*



FEB 4, 1933
Price 10 Cents

The Llano COLONIST
A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF CO-OPERATION

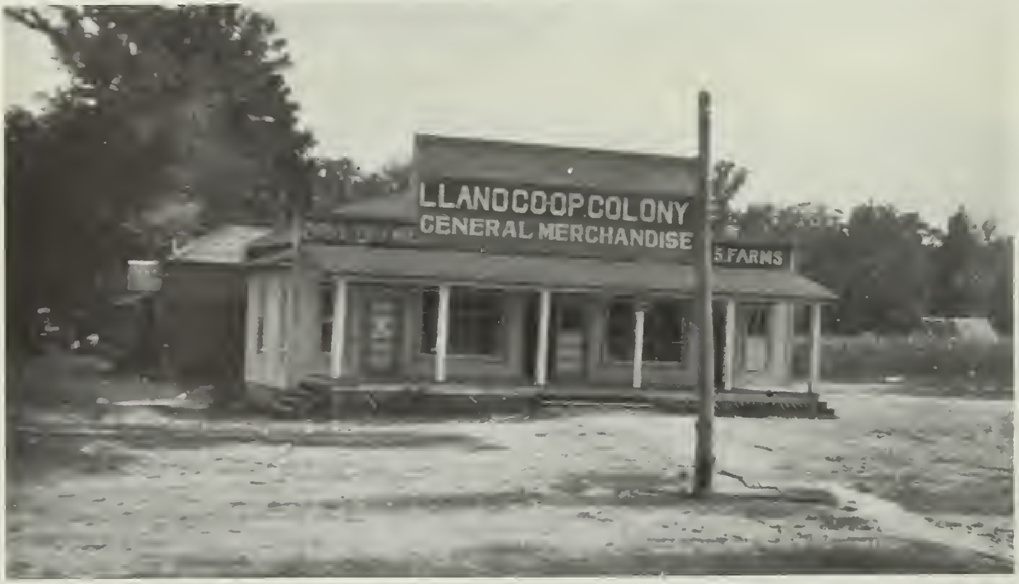
Harriman's Change of Philosophy

The Carboniferous

Issued Weekly By
LLANO PUBLICATIONS
Newllano, La.

FREEDOM
A WEEKLY MESSENGER FROM LLANO CO-OPERATIVE COLONY
CO-OPERATION

In Louisiana, the colony acquired an abandoned mill town as a base, renamed it Newllano. This building was at first the general store.



LLANO CO-OP. COLONY
GENERAL MERCHANDISE
FARMS

Harriman had long considered: moving Llano to a new location.

In the summer of 1917 Harriman learned of 20,000 acres of land for sale by the Gulf Lumber Company in Louisiana. The land had been logged but it included a small town. The lumber company's price of $125,000 payable over several years was accepted by the colony's directors in August. The original plan to maintain the orchards in California quickly faded, and all effort was poured into the new colony.

Harriman, sick with tuberculosis and disillusioned with Llano, returned to California where he died in 1925. George Pickett, who became manager of the colony in its new site near Stables, Louisiana, was a man fond of saying that he would "rather work with a bunch of morons than with a lot of over-educated kickers."[14] He ruled Llano with considerable authority until 1938, when the colony collapsed financially.

By 1926, factions within the colony began to oppose Pickett's leadership. In 1927, the protestors filed suit against the Llano del Rio Company, charging that:

> The colony had reduced workers to peons in behalf of the Gulf Lumber Company, and that the colonists were poorly fed, wretchedly clothed, and housed in typhus-infested mill huts. The colony schools, with their program of half-work, half-study, had prostituted small children to the nefarious purposes of Pickett, . . . colony leaders had 'advocated the social practice commonly known as "free love" '.[15]

The charges of immorality were blatantly untrue and easily disproved. Pickett made his opponents look foolish over this issue in the early stages of the case, and went on to win easily.

Llano limped along into the thirties, always in financial trouble, and often torn by power struggles. By 1936, the colony went bankrupt. This catastrophe brought the warring factions together in a genuine attempt at co-operation which lasted two years, but in 1938 Llano finally failed and its inhabitants dispersed.

Llano's three and a half year existence in California did more than lay the basis for a comparatively long-lived non-spiritual community in the United States. A profound dissatisfaction with the prevailing conditions of life was the original impetus of Llano. It was to be a constructive alternative to the woes and cares of life. But inside Llano the same problems—indolence, avarice, envy, lack of knowledge—appeared even more intensified than they had been "outside." What was missing that might have resulted in the continuation of Llano in spite of the factions and frictions? Was there a basic misunderstanding about man and his dependence on other men, society, and the environment?

Many Llanoites left the colony with a new and personal learning. Job Harriman, most of all, realized that fundamental human problems go deeper than their outward expression in social organization. And Llano continues to bear fruit today, as ex-Llanoites begin new social experiments in society, and bring more understanding to the lives of their own families. And finally Llano del Rio stands as an historical example, a compendium of data about communal living, for all those who are concerned today with the questions of community.

SOURCES

1. From a taped interview with Walter Millsap, a long time member of the colony. The interview was conducted by Art Wadsworth on May 8, 1964, for the Pacifica Foundation (a non-profit foundation that owns listener-supported radio stations). A transcript of the interview and copy of the tape are in the possession of the author.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Ernest S. Wooster, "They Shared Equally," *Sunset*, July 1924, p. 23.

4. ________ "Bread and Hyacinths," *Sunset*, August 1924, p. 21.

5. Mellie M. Calvert, *The Llano Del Rio Co-operative Colony*, Unpublished, Huntington Library manuscript, from the Llano del Rio Colony collection which was given to the Huntington by Mellie Calvert in 1969. Uncatalogued, written after 1962 and before 1969.

6. Job Harriman, "Llano-Community of Ideals," *Western Comrade* IV, March 1917, p. 9 *The Western Comrade* began publication in Los Angeles in April, 1913, edited by Stanley B. Wilson and Chester M. Wright. In July 1914, Franklin E. Wolfe became its editor and Job Harriman its managing editor. After Wolfe joined the Llano colony in June, 1916, the journal was published at the colony. It moved to Newllano, Louisiana, in November 1917, where it was published until the March-April issue of 1918. It was then renamed the *Internationalist*, published for two more issues, and allowed to expire.

7. Ernest S. Wooster, *Communities Past and Present*, Newllano, La., 1924. From Introduction.

8. ________, "They Shared Equality," *Sunset*, July 1924, p. 81.

9. ________, "Bread and Hyacinths," *Sunset*, August 1924, p. 23.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

11. *Western Comrade*, June 1916, p. 11.

12. Ernest S. Wooster, *Communities Past and Present*, "Llano Co-operative Colony," p. 127.

13. G. P. McCorkle, "Wayside Memories of a Tennessee Rebel," Unpublished Huntington Library manuscript (autobiographical memoir by a former Secretary-Treasurer of the colony in California), undated. From the Llano del Rio colony collection given to the Huntington by Mellie Calvert in 1969.

14. Robert Carlton Brown, *Can We Co-operate?*, Pleasant Plains, New York: Roving Eye Press, 1940. pp. 132-133.

15. Paul K. Conkin, *Two Paths to Utopia*, Lincoln, Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 1964. p. 137.

PICTURE SOURCES: Many of the original Llano photographs were taken by Walter Millsap and Meyer Elkins. Elkins ran the Llano Studio at the colony. Mrs. Mellie Calvert, Mrs. Jean Nourse, Mr. Bernie Stevens, and Mrs. Sarah Shuldiner have been gracious and helpful in locating and providing pictorial materials about Llano. The photograph of Job Harriman on page 132 and the two notices on page 148 are reproduced courtesy of the Huntington Library. All of the pictorial materials on pages 150 and 151 are courtesy of *The Los Angeles Times*. The cover of the *Llano Colonist* on page 152 is reproduced courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

Charles Wollenberg

Instructor of History and Political Science at Laney College, Oakland; co-editor of the recent CHS publication, Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California; *honorable mention winner of the 1971 California History Prize with the following essay.*

Race and Class in Rural California: The El Monte Berry Strike of 1933

AT THE END of May 1933 "outside agitators" appeared in the San Gabriel Valley, 30 miles east of Los Angeles. They were avowed radicals, organizers for the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), an affiliate of the Communist Party. They came to organize a strike of the San Gabriel Valley's Mexican berry pickers, and on June 1, they called a mass meeting at Hicks Camp, an agricultural labor settlement on the outskirts of El Monte. The meeting was a success: more than 500 workers attended and demanded wages that would guarantee a minimum of 25 cents per hour. Under the guidance of CAWIU personnel, a Committee of Action was formed and demands were delivered to the bosses, Japanese growers who operated several dozen berry farms in the vicinity of El Monte. When the demands were not met, the Committee proclaimed a strike and established picket lines in berry fields throughout the San Gabriel Valley. By June 5 more than 800 workers were off the job and the Valley's berry harvest was in jeopardy.

The El Monte berry strike and the larger conflicts that grew from it are part of a long heritage of struggle in California fields. Since the entrance of Chinese workers into the farm labor market in the 1870's, California growers have had access to laborers who have been the victims of racial prejudice and who have been willing or forced to accept wages lower than those in the state's other major economic sectors. Even the Depression migration of "Okies" and "Arkies" did not alter this fact, for the Dust Bowl migrants worked alongside Mexican, Japanese, and Filipinos throughout the thirties. Indeed, the Okies themselves became something of a "minority group," despite their white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant origin. They found themselves in an economic and social position normally held by non-whites in California society, and thus it was not surprising that they suffered the kind of discrimination and exploitation usually experienced by minority groups.

This simply illustrates the interrelationship of race and class in the history of rural California. The lowest-paid farm workers often have been non-white, and they have a long, though by no means successful, tradition of collective action to improve their economic and social condition. Seen in this light, the Delano movement of the 1960's and 1970's is only the latest chapter in a very long story, and Cesar Chávez and his followers are challenging economic and social patterns that are more than a century old. The El Monte berry strike is another chapter in this story of conflict and struggle, certainly lesser known than the events of Delano, but nonetheless important. The El Monte strike grew into one of the largest farm labor disputes of the 1930's and it pitted Japanese growers against Mexican workers in a rivalry between two of the most important non-white groups in the history of California's agricultural development.

Both Mexicans and Japanese originally came to rural California in the late nineteenth century as unskilled farm workers. In 1903 their interests were similar enough for workers of both nationalities to cooperate in joint walkouts in Ventura County, but already by that time, increasing numbers of Japanese were becoming farm operators rather than farm laborers. By 1910 Japanese growers occupied more than 170,000 acres of California cropland, most of it leased or sharecropped. Japanese wage workers continued to be an important part of the farm labor market for another decade, but after 1910 the number of such workers declined while the number of Japanese farm operators increased.

This shift in economic and social status fanned the flames of the "Yellow Peril." The Japanese inherited much of the anti-Orientalism long directed against Chinese in California, but unlike the Chinese, Japanese not only competed against white workers for jobs but also against white growers for markets. Japan was an expanding world power, and many Californians were convinced that Japanese assertiveness in the Far East was related to the growing number of Japanese farms on the west coast of the United States. There was, they claimed, an inscrutable Oriental conspiracy to wipe out Western Civilization in the Pacific Basin.

In 1913 the California Legislature struck back. An Alien Land Law was passed which prohibited those aliens defined by the Courts as ineligible for citizenship from owning agricultural land in California and greatly restricted their right to lease such properties. In 1921 the voters of the state broadened the 1913 legislation through the initiative process; leasing and sharecropping now were completely banned, and the prohibition against ownership was strengthened. Since Japanese were the only aliens declared ineligible for citizenship who operated large numbers of California farms, the intent of the Alien Land Law is obvious: to force Japanese growers out of business. But the laws could easily be subverted: sharecroppers could call themselves "foremen" and leases or deeds could be filed in the names of dummy corporations or of second-generation Nisei who, as American-born citizens, were unaffected by the legislation. By 1930 the number of Japanese-operated farms was more than 5000, and although Congress banned further Japanese immigration in 1924, California's Japanese and Japanese-American population in 1930 totalled nearly 100,000, more than double the 1900 figure.

Meanwhile, Mexicans had replaced Japanese as the main ethnic component of California's unskilled farm labor force. Although the state's Mexican population grew during the first decade of the twentieth century, massive Mexican immigration to California did not become a demographic fact of life until after 1900. In part, Mexican immigration filled a vacuum created by the shift of Japanese out of farm labor. It also took up the slack created by laws passed during the 1920's which restricted European immigration and banned immigration from Asia (except U. S. territories). America's entrance into World War I drained domestic manpower and created a severe labor shortage in California fields. At the same time, the Mexican Revolution brought economic chaos, physical destruction and new social geographic mobility to much of Mexico. Mexican immigration to the United States was limited only by vague "qualitative restrictions" established by U. S. laws, and by a greatly under-manned American-Mexican border patrol. Thus, conditions on both sides of the border conspired to produce a great movement of people "north from Mexico." In 1930 the Census found 370,000 Mexicans in California, more than double the 1920 figure. By 1930 Mexican labor was a major part of the agricultural work force in most areas of the state and dominated the harvests of the San Joaquin and Imperial Valleys and the rich truck farming region surrounding Los Angeles.

The Depression brought suffering to most people in rural California, Japanese and Mexicans included, but it also may have brought new opportunity to obtain land for some Japanese farmers. Prices of agricultural property dropped, and increasing numbers of hard-pressed land owners may have been willing to lease or sell to Japanese, Alien Land Laws notwithstanding. Although we have no precise figures, the number of Japanese farms in California seems to have grown substantially during the thirties. By the time of the Japanese relocation in 1942, such farms produced by value 30 to 35 percent of all commercial truck crops in the state. In the Los Angeles area, Japanese farmers held monopolies on the production of many varieties of vegetables and fruits, including San Gabriel Valley berries, and Japanese merchants in Los Angeles proper controlled much of the wholesale and retail distribution of such products.

If the Depression brought profitable opportunities to at least some Japanese in rural California, it brought economic disaster to most Mexicans. Agricultural wages dropped even more rapidly than prices, as the farm labor market was glutted by Dust Bowl migrants. In 1933, the State Relief Agency reported that 185 farm workers were available for every 100 farm labor jobs in California. Faced with growing poverty and unemployment, thousands of Mexicans formerly residing in California returned to Mexico. Most left the state voluntarily, but some were victims of not-so-voluntary "repatriation programs" sponsored by Los Angeles County in an effort to reduce relief rolls. The Census shows practically no change in California's Mexican population between 1930 and 1940; evidently, the out-flow was matched by in-migration and the growth of a new generation of young Mexican Americans. But the thirties are the only decade in this century in which the Census did not register a substantial growth in California's Mexican or Spanish surname population.

Depression conditions at Hicks Camp, the San Gabriel Valley's largest farm labor settlement, probably were typical for Mexican farm workers throughout the Los Angeles region. Most Hicks Camp residents were migrants; thus, the population fluctuated according to season. It reached its height during the berry harvests from late May to late July, when more than 1500 people crowded into the settlement's dusty shacks and shanties. The workers were paid according to uniform piece-rates established by the Japanese employers through their berry grower's association. Rates differed for each of several varieties of berries grown in the Valley, and each berry's separate harvest had its high and low points. Thus, it is difficult to estimate the average wage of a berry picker during the 1933 harvest, since an individual's income could vary greatly on a week-to-week or even day-to-day basis. The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, in a report sympathetic to the Japanese grower's cause, claimed that the "average skilled worker" earned between 20 and 25 cents an hour, while spokesman for the striking Mexican workers put the average at 15 cents with earnings as low as 9 cents not uncommon. Dr. Charles Spaulding, a sociologist who studied Hicks Camp shortly after the strike, probably summed up the situation accurately when he said that "everyone who was in a position to form an unbiased opinion agreed that they [the wages] were too low."

Perhaps for this reason, the CAWIU organizers were remarkably successful in stimulating strike action among the berry pickers. Not only did the walkouts quickly spread throughout the San Gabriel Valley, but during the first week of June, work-stoppages also occurred on Japanese-operated vegetable farms near the beach towns of Venice, Santa Monica, and San Pedro. The CAWIU men had encouraged Hicks Camp workers to appeal for support from Mexicans throughout the Los Angeles region. Meetings were held in many *barrios*, and residents not only responded with moral and material support for the San Gabriel Valley strike, but also with strike action of their own. On June 7 the Los Angeles Spanish-language daily, *La Opinion*, reported that 2000 Mexican farm workers were striking against Japanese employers throughout the Los Angeles area. Within a week, *La Opinion* had raised the figure to 7000 and was treating the combined walkouts as a general strike of Mexican workers against Japanese growers.

This great expansion of strike activity quickly brought the dispute to the attention of established leaders of Los Angeles' Mexican community. By June 10 a *Comite Pro-Huelga* (Pro-strike committee) had formed to coordinate and support the region's many strikes of Mexican farm workers. Comite membership included representatives of Mexican mutual aid and fraternal organizations and some representatives of the striking workers. Chief spokesman for the Comite was Armando Flores, a Los Angeles printer who had been involved in an ambitious but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to organize a union of Southern California farm workers in 1928. Flores and his fellow Comite members had close ties with the Mexican Consulate in Los Angeles and eventually Consul A. V. Martínez consented to serve as the group's Treasurer.

Establishment of the Comite may have been indirectly due to the organizing skill of the CAWIU, but the Comite also provided an alternative to CAWIU leadership at Hicks Camp. Probably no more than a dozen union organizers were present at the camp, and there is no indication that many of them spoke Spanish. Yet they attempted to maintain complete control of the strike organization. According to the Communist Party organ, *The Western World*, "with the setting up of the Committee [of Action] there were no further attempts taken to involve the workers into actual leadership." Although the *World* claimed that the CAWIU had great support among young people in Hicks Camp (Mexican youths were described serenading their elders with spirited renditions of "Lenin's Red Front March" and "Solidarity Forever"), resentment toward "outsiders" and "radicals" also grew among the strikers. On June 10 Armando Flores and Vice Consul Ricardo Hill addressed a mass meeting at Hicks Camp urging workers to reject the leadership of "red agitators." According to *La Opinion*, the strikers decided "the agitators must go at once," and after some internal struggle during the weekend of June 11 and 12, leaders willing to cooperate with the Comite and the Consulate gained control of the strike organization.

The Western World had harsh words for the new order at Hicks Camp: Armando Flores was described as "boss controlled" and Ricardo Hill was a "strike breaker." But the change in command brought no visible reduction in militancy. Flores and Hill urged workers to continue staying out of the fields and manning the picket lines. The Comite issued an "ultimatum" to Japanese growers throughout the region demanding a 25 cent hourly wage, re-hiring of strikers and union recognition for the Comite. When the growers associations offered a 20 cent wage and no recognition, the Comite asked Mexicans in Southern California to boycott goods imported from Japan.

The strike now clearly became an ethnic as well as economic conflict. The CAWIU and *The Western World* had defined the dispute simply as a struggle between workers and bosses, but now the Comite emphasized the fact that these were *Mexican* workers and *Japanese* bosses. Emotional appeals for support were made to residents of the *Barrios*, and the response was impressive. *La Opinion* devoted daily columns to reports of donations to the strike fund; many people gave a few cents, some a few dollars and others contributed large stocks of food and supplies.

Appeals for support also were made to Mexico itself. Vice Consul Hill had promised workers official backing from the Mexican government, and by the middle of June, that promise had been kept. President Abelardo Rodríguez sent a personal contribution and ordered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to forward additional funds to help feed and clothe the strikers. The *Confederación Regional de Oberos Mexicanos*, Mexico's semi-official labor federation, urged the California workers "to hold out until the end" and proclaimed a boycott on Japanese imported goods in Mexico. Perhaps fearing government displeasure, Japanese immigrants in Baja California also issued a statement supporting the cause of the strikers. Most important of all, the California strike received the blessing of the most powerful man in Mexico, ex-President General Plutarco Elias Calles. Calles sent a personal contribution to the strike fund and wired California Governor James Rolph to provide "protection and justice for my brothers." In early July, the General received Armando Flores and other Comite representatives at the Calles estate near Tijuana. Meanwhile, *La Opinion* had proclaimed Calles "the father of the pickers strike."

While the strikers received extraordinary support from official sources in Mexico, the growers received virtually no overt aid from the Japanese government. Toshito Satow, Japanese Consul in Los Angeles, declined to intervene in the dispute and only advised the growers to obey American law. Eventually, Satow did participate in some of the discussions which led to settlement of the strike, but he stressed that this participation was "as an individual" not as a representative of the Japanese government.

According to Charles Spaulding, the strike initially left the growers "bewildered, confused, and hesitant to act." But recovery was rapid, and the Japanese community of Southern California responded effectively to the emergency. Chief spokesman for the employers was Takashi Fukami, Executive Secretary of several Japanese growers associations in the Los Angeles area. Fukami claimed that his clients were eager for a fair settlement and pointed to the 20 cent compromise offer as evidence of that fact. He assured the public that a higher wage would bankrupt the growers and strongly criticized the Comite for misrepresenting the economic realities of the situation. Fukami was a man of dramatic pronouncements and he vowed that growers "would let the berries rot on the vine" before giving into "unreasonable wage demands."

Of course the growers were not about to let their berries rot on the vine. Nisei youths asked authorities to excuse them from school so that they could aid their parents in the harvest. This request was strongly backed by the El Monte chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League, and on June 7 and 8 school officials assented. Meanwhile, growers appealed for aid from family and friends in Japanese communities throughout the Los Angeles area. The response was great, but even the additional manpower supplied from these sources was not enough to complete the harvest. On June 29

Fukami announced that there were still berries on the vines, and he invited the public into the fields to help themselves at bargain prices. Hundreds of families took advantage of the offer during the weekend of June 30-31. The result not only was the harvesting of many berries but also popular support for the grower's cause.

This support was important, for attitude and actions of San Gabriel whites were to have a significant effect on the outcome of the berry strike. There is no evidence that many, if any, white growers were directly affected by the walkouts; however, whites owned most of the land occupied by the Japanese berry farms. These white landowners had an obvious stake in the continued prosperity of their tenants' farms, and they had little enthusiasm for a labor dispute which might focus public attention on profitable leasing arrangements which probably violated the Alien Land Laws. Many white growers also feared that a successful strike on Japanese farms inevitably would lead to walkouts in their own fields.

These concerns were strongly stated in communications from the El Monte Chamber of Commerce to its parent body, the Los Angeles County Chamber of Commerce. The El Monte group asked the County Chamber to use its influence to bring peace to the San Gabriel Valley, and thus the matter came to the attention of Dr. Frank Clements, Manager of the Los Angeles Chamber's Agricultural Department. Convinced that unorganized Mexican labor was essential to California's agricultural well-being, Clements had a strong aversion to both unionization of farm labor and restriction of Mexican immigration. His great fear was that the El Monte dispute would grow to such proportions that either or both of these evils might result: a successful Mexican labor union might be formed and/or the public might demand exclusion of "radical and troublesome" Mexicans. As Mr. Gast, Clements' staffman in El Monte, stated, "our particular interest is, of course, maintaining the integrity of our Mexican labor supply."

On the whole, Gast's report on the El Monte dispute favored the cause of the Japanese growers. He admitted that wages were too low, but he believed the grower's compromise offer was fair. Gast condemned the Comite for its "unreasonable" attitude and dismissed Armando Flores as "a communist of the worst type" (a somewhat ironic comment, given *The Western World*'s bitter attacks against Flores). Gast also was suspicious of the motives of General Calles and the Mexican government who, he speculated, supported the California strike as a plainless way of winning popularity at home. Gast felt that there was need for a County Anti-Picketing Ordinance, since "the removal of open picketing" would end the walkouts.

By the end of June, not only the Chamber, but also the State Bureau of Industrial Relations and the Federal Department of Labor were involved in efforts to end the strike. Finally, after repeated failures, a settlement was reached on July 6. Terms included a $1.50 minimum daily wage for "permanent" employees, defined as workers guaranteed at least six consecutive days of employment for the same employer, and 20 cents per hour for other, "temporary," employees. Strikers were to be hired "as rapidly as circumstances permit," and reprisals against striking workers were prohibited. Flores and other representatives of the Comite signed in the name of a new organization, *La Union de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos* (Union of Mexican Workers and Peasants) which was recognized as bargaining agent for the pickers. The agreement appeared to cover both the berry fields and the coastal vegetable farms and was to remain binding until August 16, by which time harvests affected by the strike would be ended.

La Opinion hailed the July 6 agreement as a "triumph for the workers." The Comite issued victory statements and graciously expressed appreciation for support to the Mexican community of Southern California, the Consulate, President Rodríguez and, of course, "the father of the pickers' strike," General Calles. But there was little euphoria in Hicks Camp, for it soon became obvious that the agreement was being ignored in the San Gabriel Valley. On July 10, Thomas Barker, who had represented the Bureau of Industrial Relations in the strike negotiations, belatedly announced that the July 6 agreement applied only to the vegetable fields of the coastal towns and not to the berry farms of the Valley. Barker admitted that there had been a "verbal accord" regarding the San Gabriel workers, but this, he claimed, did not constitute a "binding agreement." Comite spokesmen protested Barker's interpretation, and Hicks Camp workers demanded immediate rehiring and wages equal to those of the coastal vegetable pickers. But the berry harvests were coming to an end, and Japanese growers refused to replace trusted friends and relatives with strikers.

In the middle of July, Dr. Clements' staff again surveyed conditions at Hicks Camp. They found at least 500 residents without visible means of support, and the number was growing steadily as the harvests ended. Many workers had earned no money at all during the harvest season, and the food and other supplies provided by the Comite had long since run out. By the end of the month, *La Opinion* could report that "thousands of Mexicans [in the San Gabriel Valley], veterans of the last strike, are without work." Only a few of the strikers have been re-hired and the rest "live only by a miracle."

Thus the El Monte berry strike brought little tangible benefit to Hicks Camp workers. If anything, they were better off before the conflict began in early June than they were when it ended in July. Nevertheless, the strike did affect farm labor relations in California. Certainly, it increased militancy and social consciousness among Mexican agricultural workers in the Los Angeles area. By July an official of the Department of Labor was describing such workers as "union mad," while Dr. Spaulding found Hicks Camp veterans ready and willing to strike again. Dr. Clements decided that Los Angeles County had better provide emergency relief for Hicks Camp, since a "full-bellied Mexican rarely fights and is more tractible." One of the San

Gabriel Valley workers announced "if there is no strike in the San Joaquin Valley now, there will be one when we get there." There were, indeed, strikes of Mexican workers in the San Joaquin Valley later that summer, and there is little doubt that some of the Hicks Camp veterans participated in them.

The Japanese growers may have "won" the El Monte strike, but their "victory" was not particularly satisfying. The strike demonstrated the ultimate power of white institutions over Japanese interests in rural California. The victory of the berry growers in large part was due to the support of the El Monte Chamber of Commerce and the sympathetic attitude of the State Bureau of Industrial Relations. The strike focused attention on the tenuous relationship between key elements of the white community and the Japanese growers, relationships between landlords and tenants, between law enforcement officials and farmers willing to ignore or violate the Alien Land Laws. While Takashi Fukami claimed that the berry farmers suffered little economic loss due to the dispute, he was concerned about the long-term repercussions the strike might have on Japanese-white relations in Southern California.

White growers' reaction to the El Monte strike can be understood only within the total context of California farm labor relations during 1933. The El Monte strike was but one of 30 major labor conflicts and scores of minor disputes that hit California agriculture during that year, making 1933 the most disruptive twelve months in the history of the state's farm labor relations. Fifty-thousand workers participated in the 1933 strikes and CAWIU organizers were present at most of the major conflicts. By the end of the year, the state's most powerful agricultural interests were ready to mount a counter-attack, and this got under way with the formation of the Associated Farmers Inc. in early 1934. Associated Farmers was given strong financial support by growers, and it used its resources to maintain "black lists" of union members, publish anti-union propaganda, pressure law enforcement officials and courts to crack down on farm labor organizing and occasionally aid violent vigilante action to break strikes. By the end of 1934, the CAWIU was shattered, many of its leaders and organizers jailed and farm union activity in general had received a severe setback.

But neither race nor class conflict disappeared from California fields. Wartime "relocation" finally accomplished the ultimate aim of the "Yellow Peril" advocates: the removal of Japanese from California. Although most Japanese families returned to the state after the war, and some eventually re-established farms, it is unlikely that Japanese growers will ever be able to recover the great stake they once had in California agriculture. However, in 1971 the Nisei Farmers League was established in Fresno County to resist attempts by Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers Union to organize laborers on Japanese-American-owned farms.

World War II also solved the unemployment problems of most "Okies" and "Arkies," who probably found jobs in urban defense industry or joined the armed services. By 1942 California farmers were complaining of severe labor shortages, and in that year the Federal government came to the rescue with the Bracero Program, a bilateral arrangement between the United States and Mexico allowing thousands of Mexican nationals to cross the border each year for temporary agricultural work. This wartime "emergency" measure lasted for twenty-two years and was supplemented by large-scale illegal immigration across the border. However, in the middle 1950's energetic measures were begun to cut the flow of illegal immigrants and in 1964 the Bracero Program itself was terminated. Thus by 1965 resident California farm workers had a better bargaining position than at any time in the previous thirty-five years, and some of these workers, primarily people of Mexican and Filipino descent, began walkouts in the grapefields of the Southern San Joaquin Valley. Once again the volatile mixture of race and class in rural California had brought conflict to the fields.

SOURCES

The best contemporary account of the El Monte strike is Charles B. Spaulding's "The Mexican Strike at El Monte" *Sociology and Social Research* (August 1934). Also useful are Dr. Frank Clements' personal papers, now in the UCLA Library. Best newspaper sources are *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), the Los Angeles *Times* and *The Western World* (published weekly by the Communist Party in San Francisco). Good background information is found in the report of the "La Follette Committee," *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor* (U. S. Senate, 74th Congress, Report of Committee on Education and Labor), as well as Clarke A. Chambers' *California Farm Organizations* (Berkeley 1952) and "Organization Efforts of Mexican Labor" (1939) a manuscript prepared by the Oakland Federal Writers Project and now in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. The El Monte dispute also is covered in Emory S. Bogardus' *The Mexican in the United States* (Los Angeles 1934) and Stuart Marshall Jamieson, "Labor Unions in American Agriculture" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, U. C. Berkeley, 1943).

The pre-war role of Japanese in California agriculture is well covered in Dorothy Swain Thomas, *The Salvage: Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement* (Berkeley 1952) and Leonard Bloom and Ruth Riemer, *Removal and Return: The Socio-Economic Effects of the War on Japanese Americans* (Berkeley 1949). Also see John Modell, "Class or Ethnic Solidarity: Japanese American Company Union," *Pacific Historical Review* (May 1969). For information on pre-war Mexican farm workers, see Paul S. Taylor's multi-volume study *Mexican Labor in the United States* (Berkeley 1928-1934); Governor C. C. Young's Fact Finding Committee, *Mexicans in California* (San Francisco 1930); Charles Wollenberg, "Huelga 1928 Style: The Imperial Valley Cantaloupe Strike" *Pacific Historical Review* (February 1969) and "Conflict in the Fields: Mexican Workers in California Agri-Business" in Wollenberg, et al. *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles 1970). The far-sighted works of Carey McWilliams deserve special mention, particularly *Factories in the Fields* (New York 1934); *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Intolerance* (Boston 1944) and *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York 1949).

Geoffrey P. Mawn

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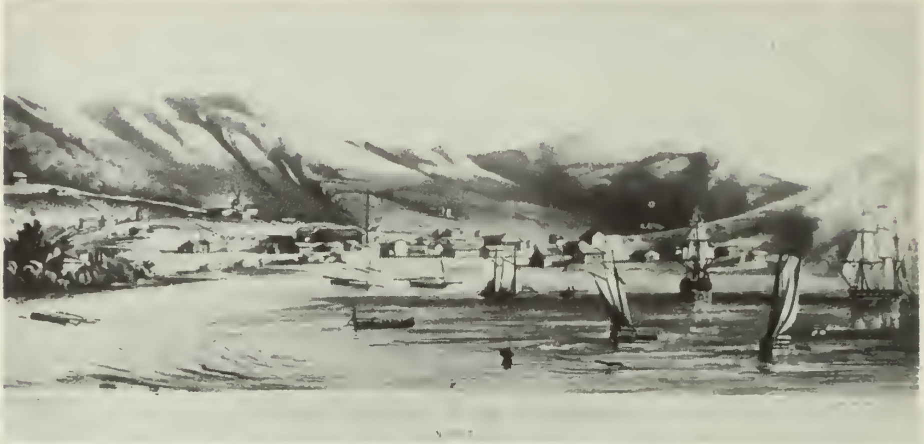
Framework for Destiny: San Francisco, 1847

"The peninsula, as you looked westward, presented the appearance of a lump of baker's dough which had been kneaded into fantastic hills and valles . . . [and] which, after having been worked, had been forgotten so long that the green mould had begun to creep over it."[1] Yerba Buena by 1846 was a small pueblo with a cove and anchorage surrounded by a wilderness of rolling hills and sand dunes covered by clumps of dense, wind-flattened chaparral and scrub oak which provided shelter for a variety of animals and fowl. Twenty or thirty straggling houses plus numerous shanties and tents were scattered on the broad, grassy plateau which sloped gently from the edge of the bush to the waters of the Bay. Despite its location, Yerba Buena's first decade of settlement was one of listless development, marred by the lack of a real pattern for its expansion.[2]

During the military occupation of California by United States forces, Captain John B. Montgomery appointed Lieutenant Washington A. Bartlett as Alcalde of the San Francisco District on August 26, 1846. With his headquarters in Yerba Buena, Bartlett assumed leadership of a town with a population exceeding two hundred persons where approximately fifty buildings and occasional brush fences vaguely outlined unnamed streets and where public improvements had been neglected for over a decade.[3] Yerba Buena was, nevertheless, a town with a future.

The small population influx which followed the American occupation of Yerba Buena highlighted the need for the orderly growth of the town to meet the increased demand for private ownership of property. In September, 1846, William A. Leidesdorff and other prominent citizens of Yerba Buena tried to persuade Captain Montgomery to authorize Alcalde Bartlett to grant lots as Alcaldes had done under the Mexican Government. Bartlett hesitated to do so, believing that he did not have the necessary authority. In order to determine the extent of the powers of the Alcalde, Captain Montgomery sent Charles E. Pickett to obtain information from the former Mexican Alcaldes José de Jesús Noe, Francisco Guerrero, Francisco Sánchez, and José de la Cruz Sánchez. All these ex-Alcaldes of Yerba Buena confirmed



Pre-Gold Rush San Francisco was little more than a hamlet when Jasper O'Farrell surveyed the settlement in 1847.

the fact that the Alcalde was the legal trustee of all the public property and duty bound to grant lands to heads of families who solicited them and who paid the necessary fees.[4] With this assurance of his power and with the obvious need for a surveyed plan, Bartlett sent the following request to Jasper O'Farrell:[5]

> Magistracy of San Francisco
> Yerba Buena Nov. 26th. 1846.
>
> Jasper O'Farrel Esqr.
> Dear Sir:
>
> I have the utmost desire to have the town surveyed at the earliest possible day—therefore I shall expect you at your earliest convenience as every day will make it more difficult to get matters arranged as I wish them regarding the streets and lots.
>
> All seem anxious to have a good plan of the town and I do not think I involve any risk of objection from any quarter. Therefore I decree it shall be done.
>
> Yrs. very Truly
> Wash'n A. Bartlett [rubric]
> Magistrate.[6]

No record survives of Jasper O'Farrell's response, but he undoubtedly showed his interest in the work and proposed his terms. In order to confer personally with the Alcalde, O'Farrell traveled to Yerba Buena.

Meanwhile, in December a public meeting was held in Yerba Buena to discuss the Alcalde's proposal for a survey of the town. The proposal ran into opposition from "a few independent and proper thinking persons" who objected to the appropriation of money from the sale of lots to pay for a survey of the city. The objectors apparently felt that this money could be better spent to defray municipal expenses or to erect various public improvements, such as a wharf. Some people objected to the survey not because it would disturb the possession of their lands but because "they regarded their picket fences [as] so valuable." But apparently this argument was ameliorated by the proposal that if people were injured by the necessity of moving fences, they were to be reimbursed by the city. Despite this small group of dissenters, there was much excitement and agreement concerning the need for the survey, and a resolution was passed supporting a "resurvey."[7]

When O'Farrell arrived in Yerba Buena in late December, he found George Hyde acting as Alcalde *ad interim* in the absence of Bartlett.[8] Although personally opposed to the survey, Hyde was compelled to proceed with the arrangement initiated since O'Farrell had arrived at the request of Bartlett. Following a conference on the morning of December 24, 1846, Hyde sent an official acceptance of O'Farrell's terms for the survey of "certain portions" of the town.[9]

Yet, despite this agreement on terms, Hyde continued to object to the survey. Using his position as Alcalde *ad interim* he arbitrarily limited the extent of O'Farrell's work, assigning him to survey fringe areas. O'Farrell, meanwhile, studied the "previous" survey of Vioget and its extensions, and found it "incorrect." He apparently suggested that a survey of the whole town should be made and a new map compiled "instead of scraps and patches around the edges" as was then intended.[10]

O'Farrell, as an experienced surveyor, realized the deficiencies of the Vioget survey. Vioget's North was eleven degrees too far east. The map was drawn at right angles, but "no two streets or lots were parallel" on the ground because of errors in fencing and in surveying. A realignment, however, could be achieved by a change of two and a half degrees in a northeast and southwest direction making five degrees altogether. O'Farrell proposed to change the lines of the streets so that they would conform as much as possible to the topography. O'Farrell also thought that the streets should be widened from sixty to eighty feet in order to ease the growing congestion in developed areas and that Telegraph Hill should be terraced. Unfortunately, these latter improvements were rejected to avoid additional expenditures for a realignment of the buildings already erected. Many of the early fifty-vara* square lots (137 feet 6 inches square) were also inaccurately measured so that the size of the lots varied. A new, accurate survey and a map would certainly guarantee uniformity and protect land titles. This in turn would facilitate the further granting of legal land titles and insure the continued physical growth of Yerba Buena.[11]

But various factions of the town were in disagreement over the form which O'Farrell's new work should take. One group favored the continuation of the oblique pattern contained in segments of Vioget's work. This pattern would allow for the adaptation of the street extensions to the hilly terrain

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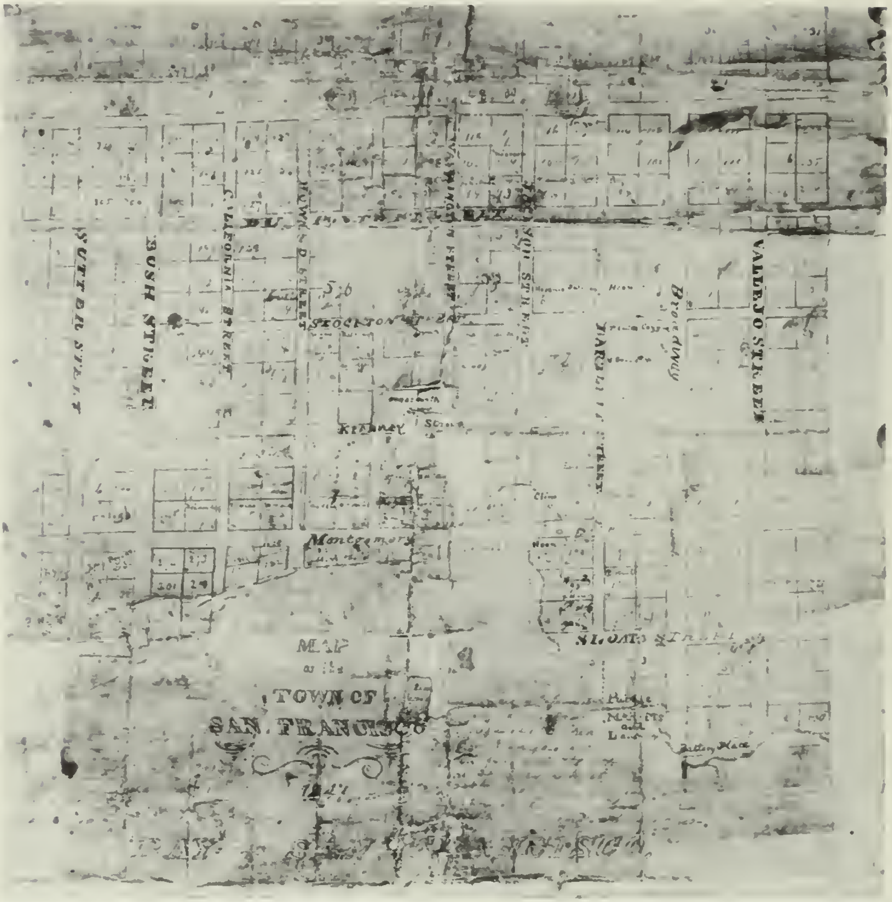
*A vara is a Spanish lineal measurement equal to 33 inches. (See Note 11.)


SUTTER STREET
BUSH STREET
CALIFORNIA STREET
DUPONT STREET
STOCKTON STREET
KEARNEY STREET
WASHINGTON STREET
JACKSON STREET
PACIFIC STREET
Broadway
VALLEJO STREET
Montgomery
SLOAT STREET
MAP of the TOWN OF SAN FRANCISCO
1847

Precursor to O'Farrell's map, the Buckelew Map established the rectangular street grid for the downtown area that O'Farrell incorporated in his final plan.

and the sand dunes surrounding the original town site. Influential landowners undoubtedly objected to this proposal. A gridiron street pattern they deemed to be the most convenient plan. An orthogonal pattern of rectangular blocks, straight streets, and right-angle intersections would insure uniformity, could quickly be extended, and more importantly could easily be subdivided. It would also be the most economical form to survey.[12] These citizens thus tried to influence the town authorities to change the form of the survey from its partially oblique form to a completely rectangular pattern. Toward this goal, Benjamin R. Buckelew drafted a redrawing of the area around Portsmouth Square which would be encompassed in any forthcoming survey. Buckelew's map, based on an "old frame map" of Yerba Buena, showed the orderly division which could be achieved from a rectangular pattern.[13] The actual ground condition of the lots and streets, however, was still one of chaotic disorder. The remedy of these planning problems was the goal of Jasper O'Farrell from the time when he began his semi-official survey in early January of 1847 to his final combined map in August of 1847.

Jasper O'Farrell's first work in January, 1847, was an addition to the surveyed area of the town of Yerba Buena. Before Alcalde Bartlett left town he had made preparations for the granting of hundred-vara square lots (275 feet square) in Happy Valley, the area of present-day Mission Street. Since a plan was needed to protect the grants, Hyde initially put O'Farrell to work on the first hundred-vara survey of the town laying out eighteen hundred-vara lots.[14] O'Farrell also commenced work on the "longitudinal and transverse" extensions of the streets originally laid out by the Vioget plotting.[15] Meanwhile, the discussion continued concerning the contracted extent of O'Farrell's surveying.

The decision on extent was made by Alcalde Bartlett after his return to office in mid-January. Bartlett, with the approval of the inhabitants of the town, concluded a new contract with O'Farrell for the survey of 500 fifty-vara lots, "exclusive of streets, lanes, or public squares." For this work, O'Farrell was to receive a payment of $1,500. Using the arrangement contained within the "Buckelew Map," O'Farrell laid out 360 numbered lots within the area bounded by Green, Mason, Sutter, and the Bay water line.[16] When Alcalde Bartlett signed the "Buckelew Map" on February 22, 1847, he was certifying an area now surveyed by O'Farrell. O'Farrell later testified that: "There was no change in the plan or map made by my survey." Indeed there was none. However, the streets in the newly surveyed portion of the town were not rectangular, but were simply "parallel to, and in the same direction" as the streets in the older portion that was then fenced and built upon.[17]

In order to achieve parallel streets and rectangular blocks, the new Alcalde, Edwin Bryant, concluded a revised contract with O'Farrell on March 8th. He accepted O'Farrell's proposal to commence the resurvey of the agreed 500 fifty-vara lots, "making the streets and squares at right angles and parallel with one another." Also included in the March 8th contract were the survey of the Bay water line from the extreme southeastern point of the harbor to the beach area behind Juana Briones' house, and "a finished map or plan of the same, with water line, houses, fences, blocks, streets, lanes, and squares." All three provisions were to be included for only an additional $500, making a total payment of $2,000.[18]

Jasper O'Farrell began his official survey of San Francisco in March of 1847 incorporating his work in San Francisco into his schedule of commitments.[19] In early March he began the squaring of the street intersections and the adjustment of lot locations so that they conformed to the rigid rectangular pattern. The corner of Washington and Kearny Streets was the pivot for these corrections which became popularly known as "O'Farrell's

Swing."[20] By the end of March, O'Farrell had realigned the area of the Buckelew plat. But O'Farrell's work from January through March did little to satisfy the desire for ready land. A steady influx of immigrants, including the Mormon party and Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson's Regiment of New York Volunteers, necessitated the rapid expansion of the area of the town. The surveyed limits of the settlement had to be enlarged too because the evasion and disregard of Mexican laws restricting owners to the purchase of a single lot had centered ownership of prime land in the hands of a small group of speculators. Additional fifty-vara lots were needed both as home sites and business locations. With this impetus additional fifty-vara lots were projected for the northern, southern, and western edges of the already surveyed central core of San Francisco. Prominent citizens also thought that the survey and sale of the beach and water lots, located on the town's eastern limits fronting the Bay, might attract more settlers and provide a further source of revenue for municipal expenses. No legal title could be obtained for these beach and water lots since they had not been specifically granted to the pueblo of Yerba Buena by the Mexican Government. To circumvent this legal obstruction, a public meeting was held in San Francisco on the 15th of February, 1847, to adopt a series of resolutions to petition for the legalization of the sale of these lots. The resolutions, in the form of a petition, were presented to Military Governor Stephen W. Kearny by Alcalde Edwin Bryant.[21]

Ignoring the fact that he possessed no authority to alter the existing Mexican civil laws of the territory until after formal annexation, Governor Kearny on March 10 granted, conveyed, and released to the people or corporate authority of the town of San Francisco all rights, title, and interest in the beach and water lots. Acting upon this authority, Alcalde Bryant on March 16th announced that the beach and water lots situated between Fort Montgomery and Rincon Point would be surveyed and offered for sale at public auction on the 29th of June.[22]

Thus, subsequent to his realignment of the old town in March, O'Farrell began work on the initial surveying of the beach and water lots on the muddy, half-submerged area of Yerba Buena cove. It is not known whether O'Farrell completed his entire initial survey of the beach and water lots in March and April. Since there was a demand for property which could be occupied immediately, O'Farrell next went to work on an extension of the fifty-vara lots of the town. By the 30th of April, O'Farrell plotted 128 fifty-vara lots in the northern area of the town between Greenwich on the North, Green on the South, Montgomery on the East, and Leavenworth on the West. This latter addition brought the total number of fifty-vara lots surveyed to 500, completing O'Farrell's March 8th contract.[23] During April and May, O'Farrell also added 178 additional fifty-vara lots on the northern, southern, and western edges of the town extending his previous surveying

Time-speckled photograph of Jasper O'Farrell, in possession of his great grandson James G. Coffman of San Francisco, reveals him as dapper and self-possessed.

north to Francisco Street, south to Post Street, and west to Taylor in the central area of the town.[24] Following the laying out of these fifty-vara lots, O'Farrell commenced the third phase in the survey of San Francisco after Alcalde George Hyde approved the terms for the surveying of more hundred-vara lots.

San Francisco June 12, 1847

To George Hyde, Esq. Alcalde or Chief Judge of San Francisco
Sir

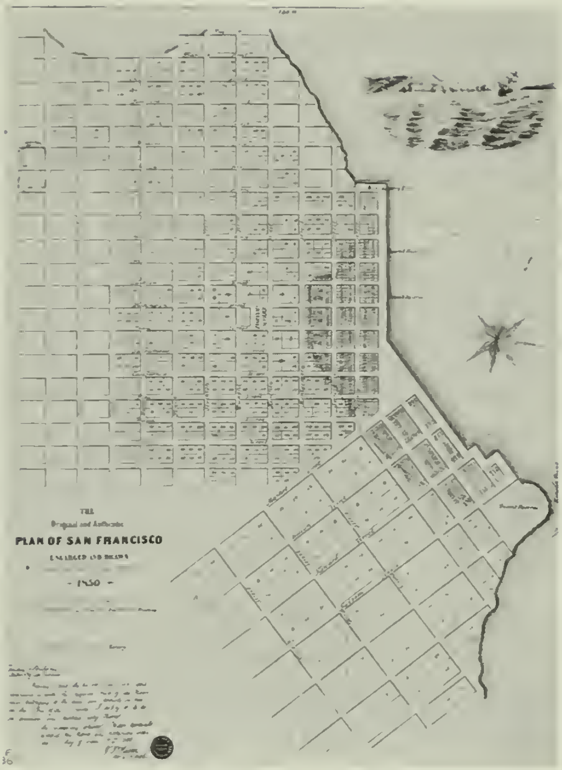
I hereby agree to survey lots of 100 varas square each in the adjacent to the Southern boundary of the last survey in that part known by the name of Rincon establishing corners to each lot. The numbers of lots to be one hundred or more if required. The whole to be executed in a satisfactory and proper manner as soon as the Survey is completed or within twenty days thereafter.

I am, Sir, Respectfully,
Jasper O'Farrell, C.E.
The above is approved—George Hyde
1st Alcalde [25]

In June, while surveying the first 36 hundred-vara lots in the southern section of San Francisco, O'Farrell encountered a major obstacle. Five of the fifty-vara lots located in the southeastern corner of the surveyed area of the town overlapped several of the already granted hundred-vara lots along the south side of Market Street between First and Second Streets. In order to retain the original locations of the hundred-vara lots granted by previous Alcaldes to various parties early in 1847, O'Farrell found it necessary to resurvey the hundred-vara lots and the fifty-vara and beach lots from Market Street south to Rincon Point. The probable solution was the development of Market Street as the backbone of the planned city, a 120-foot-wide vista cutting across the original checkerboard pattern. With an artistic flair for the panoramic, O'Farrell pointed Market Street directly at the middle of "*Los Pechos de la Choca*" (Twin Peaks). In so laying out Market Street on its diagonal, O'Farrell considered the fact that the street's southwesterly direction was the general route of travel between the town settlement and the Mission area.[26] O'Farrell may have envisioned Market Street as the main thoroughfare of the future around which the business life of the city would gravitate. The correction of the overlapping of the fifty-vara lots and the hundred-vara lots and the plotting of Market Street as a divider between these two subdivisions created gore lots at the corners of Market Street and Sansome, Montgomery, and Kearny. The relocation of the hundred-vara lots along the southern extremities of Market Street necessitated the remeasurement of the previously surveyed beach and water lots south of Market Street to the Rincon. The corrected resurvey of the first 36 hundred-vara lots added $150 to the total price of the hundred-vara survey. Altering the location of the southern beach and water lots and the fifty-vara lots on the Rincon added an additional expense of $475 to the estimated expense of $1,250, bringing the total for the complete survey of the beach and water lots to $1,725.[27]

This delay in the completion of the beach and water lot survey forced a postponement of the sale set for June 29, 1847. On July 10th, William Pettet, the sheriff of San Francisco, announced that the new date of the public auction sale of the beach and water lots would be Tuesday, the 20th of July. Appended to this announcement was the notice that "an adequate map of this property will be published in a few days and exhibited to the public at the Alcalde's Office."[28]

An official "Map of the beach and water lots of San Francisco, A.D. 1847," prepared by Jasper O'Farrell, was ready by July 17th.[29] Outlined on it were the 444 beach and water lots, each with a width of sixteen and two-thirds varas and a depth of fifty varas (45 feet 10 inches by 137 feet 6 inches). The lots were located on the eastern boundary of the city fronting on the Bay between the low and high water marks. After studying the ebb of tidal variance, O'Farrell indicated the ordinary high water mark on his map by a wavy line extending from Fort Montgomery to Rincon Point.[30]



Redrawing of the compiled map entitled "The Original and Authentic Plan of San Francisco," delineates all the areas that O'Farrell surveyed in 1847.

The sale of the beach and water lots commenced on the 20th of July and continued for three consecutive days. The lots between the continuation of Clay and Sacramento were not sold because they were included within the area reserved for government use. Although fewer than half of the lots (approximately two hundred) were actually sold, financially the sale was a success.[31] The revenue from the sale provided the town with the means for further improvements. But the July sale of the beach and water lots did little to alleviate the need for land for immediate expansion because four-fifths of these lots were entirely under water at high tide.

By mid-July, O'Farrell had completed the surveying of 136 hundred-vara lots in the area south of Market Street. Since this section was considered less desirable than the central portion of the city, the hundred-vara lots were offered as an inducement. These large lots ran south along First through Fourth Streets to the water line of the Bay just south of Brannan Street and southwest on Market as far as Fifth Street, skirting the swamps southwest of Mission and Fourth Streets. [32] By the beginning of August of 1847, O'Farrell had added 95 additional fifty-vara lots to the fringe areas of his previous surveying in the northern and southern portions of San Francisco.[33] He completed his work in San Francisco when he compiled a total map, probably in August of 1847, combining the several surveys of the town on which he had been working since January of 1847.[34] Soon after the completion of this work which left a permanent pattern for the future development of San Francisco, Jasper O'Farrell left San Francisco to continue his surveying in other developing areas of the northern Bay region and to assume a prominent role in the development and settlement of Sonoma County.[35]

O'Farrell's surveying had an immediate stimulating effect on the growth of San Francisco. In the year between June, 1846, and June, 1847, only thirty houses had been constructed and these were flimsy structures. In July and August of 1847 alone, twenty more houses with studier superstructures were erected. Uniform lots now lined the straight streets and squared intersections. The new, accurate survey and the certified map protected legal land titles and insured the physical growth of San Francisco. Many public improvements, such as leveling various sand hills and grading public thoroughfares, remained to be initiated, but the pattern had been established. Lieutenant Edward Gilbert, summing up his evaluation of Jasper O'Farrell's work and its immediate effects, optimistically looked to the future:

> I cannot suppress a desire to say that San Francisco is destined to become the great commercial emporium of the north Pacific coast. With advantages of so fine a harbor, and the enterprise of so hardy and intelligent a race of pioneers, it can scarcely be otherwise.[36]

NOTES

1. John Tillotson, *The Golden Americas: A Story of Great Discoveries and Daring Deeds* (London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler, [1869]), 366-367.

2. William A. Richardson, the founder of the pueblo of Yerba Buena, drew a one-street plan of the pueblo for Mexican Governor Figueroa in 1835 to show the location of his hundred-vara square lot. The second effort at a plan for the pueblo was done in 1839 by another sea captain, Jean Jacques Vioget, who was chosen reportedly because he was the only individual who possessed the equipment necessary to conduct the attempt at surveying the area. The deficiencies of Vioget's survey and its extensions during the period between 1839 and 1845 will be discussed later in this essay. For a brief presentation on the earlier surveys see Neal Harlow, *The Maps of San Francisco Bay from the Spanish Discovery in 1769 to the American Occupation* ([San Francisco]: Book Club of California, 1950).

3. Washington A. Bartlett acted as Alcalde of Yerba Buena (then San Francisco) from August 26, 1846, to February 22, 1847. He was elected Alcalde by the people on September 15, 1847. The name of the town was changed from Yerba Buena to San Francisco by a proclamation of Alcalde Bartlett published in the *California Star*, January 30, 1847, p. 4, c. 3.

4. Deposition of Charles E. Pickett, May 15, 1854, San Francisco vs. the United States. *Documents, Depositions, and Brief of Law Points Raised thereon on behalf of the United States, in case no. 280 . . .* (San Francisco: Commercial Power Presses, 1854), p. 57. Bartlett began to grant lots on November 16, 1846.

5. Jasper O'Farrell was born c. May, 1817, in Wexford, Ireland. He had a strong educational background, including a probable college education in Dublin and a degree in civil engineering. Restrictions on the practice of his profession after 1833 influenced O'Farrell to leave Ireland in 1840. He embarked from England on a British surveying expedition in 1841 bound for the Pacific coast of South America. He left the expedition at Buenos Aires, crossed the pampas and traversed the Cordilleras of South America in the summer of 1841. From Valparaíso he worked his way northward arriving in the San Francisco Bay area in November of 1843. Settling near San Rafael on Timothy Murphy's Rancho San Pedro, Santa Margarita y Las Gallinas, O'Farrell commenced his work in California as a surveyor. From 1844 through 1846, O'Farrell completed the survey of at least twenty-four Mexican land grants in northern and southern California and established his competency as a skilled surveyor. He acted as the quartermaster on Sutter's expeditionary force in 1845 in support of Mexican Governor Micheltorena. Following his return from southern California in 1846, he again settled in San Rafael where Bartlett's letter started him on a new facet of his surveying career: city planning.

6. Washington A. Bartlett to Jasper O'Farrell, Yerba Buena, November 26, 1846, California Historical Society, Jasper O'Farrell Papers.

7. Editorial signed "Yerba Buena" (Charles E. Pickett), *California Star*, January 9, 1847, p. 3, c. 2-3. Testimony of Jasper O'Farrell and Sam Brannan, Paul Lestrade v. Frederick Barth, #10624, California State Archives, California Supreme Court Record Group, Transcript of Appeal, 1860, pp. 28 and 19 (hereinafter cited as Lestrade v. Barth, #10624).

8. George Hyde acted as Alcalde *ad interim* from December 15, 1846, to January 20, 1847, by the appointment of Captain Joseph B. Hull, while Bartlett was a captive of Francisco Sánchez.

9. George Hyde to Jasper O'Farrell, Yerba Buena (or "St. Francisco"), December 24, 1846, in "Jasper O'Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 98.

10. Editorial, *California Star*, January 9, 1847, p. 3, c. 2-3.

11. A vara is equal to 33 inches. Testimony of Jasper O'Farrell, Lestrade v. Barth, #10624, p. 27; Testimony of Washington A. Bartlett, Henry Rice v. James Cunningham, #16016, California State Archives, California Supreme Court Record Group, Transcript of Appeal, 1864, p. 100 (hereinafter cited as Rice v. Cunningham, #16016). See also John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco . . .* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1878), 114-116; Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: The History Book Company, 1884-1890), V, 655, Note; John Tillotson, *The Golden Americas* (London, [1869]), 369; and *Sonoma Democrat*, November 18, 1875, p. 2, c. 1.

12. Mel Scott, *The San Francisco Bay Area: A Metropolis in Perspective* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), 24; John W. Reps, *Town Planning in Frontier America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 426-427.

13. The "Buckelew Map" was drawn while George Hyde was Alcalde *ad interim*, because he stated that "before January 1st, or about that time, there was no other map to define lots granted" but a map vaguely identified as "Plan of Yerba Buena 1846." According to Bartlett, the map was a copy of an untitled plan in the city archives which he had received from José de Jesús Noe, the last Mexican Alcalde. The numbers of the lots on both maps were the same, but the names of the respective streets varied. Testimony of George Hyde and Washington A. Bartlett, Rice v. Cunningham, #16016, pp. 80, 85, and 100; Benjamin R. Buckelew to Editor, San Francisco, November 4, 1848, *Californian*, November 4, 1848, p. 3, c. 2. The map projected 360 numbered lots between Green Street on the North to Sutter on the South, and from Mason Street to the water line. A photograph of the original "Buckelew Map," "Bartlett Map," or "Alcalde Map" (names by which this single map is known) in California Historical Society Map Collection, San Francisco, 1800-1850.

14. Testimony of George Hyde and Washington A. Bartlett, Rice v. Cunningham, #16016, pp. 80, and 107-108. A "Surveyor" was paid $30 for work in January, 1847, according to the bill of February 22, 1847, sent by the Alcalde's Office to the Treasurer of the city (California Historical Society, William A. Leidesdorff Papers). In payment for his work O'Farrell was also granted Lot No. 9, a hundred-vara lot mid-block on the north side of Mission Street between Second and Third Streets, from George Hyde on January 1, 1847. Alfred Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco* (San Francisco: Alta California Steam Printing Establishment, 1852), 31. The results of this survey were incorporated into his later hundred-vara survey.

15. Copy of Contract for the Survey of the Town with Jasper O'Farrell, San Francisco, March 8, 1847, Bancroft Library, Elbert P. Jones, [Correspondence and Papers, 1846-1852], C-B 464.

16. *Ibid.* There were a total of 372 fifty-vara lots surveyed prior to March 6, the date of O'Farrell's bill to the city for this portion of his surveying. Only 360 were numbered as ten numbered grants contained 2 to 4 fifty-vara lots. Curiously, shown a map identified as the "Old Map of Yerba Buena" (copy annexed to case is redrawing of Buckelew Map), O'Farrell testified that "this is the first map I ever saw of the City." This testimony seemingly contradicts the newspaper report of his study of the "previous survey" during January of 1847 (see footnote 10). Dr. Neal Harlow first proposed the interpretation that the "Buckelew Map" was possibly intended as "an official American restatement" of revised plans for the town to be used as a basis for O'Farrell's work. Neal Harlow, *Maps of San Francisco Bay* ([San Francisco], 1950), 96-97. It was indeed this and more.

17. Testimony of Jasper O'Farrell, Lestrade v. Barth, #10624, pp. 27-29. Copy of Contract for the Survey of the town with Jasper O'Farrell, San Francisco, March 8, 1847, Bancroft Library, Elbert P. Jones, [Correspondence and Papers, 1846-1852], C-B 464. William S. Clark in his recollections compiled in 1885 states that he assisted O'Farrell in making the "first survey of the old part of town," although including a march larger area than the "Buckelew Map." He credits Alcalde Bartlett with directing the survey and naming the streets. Recollections of a San Francisco Pioneer of '46, Bancroft Library, C-D 245:1, p. 8.

18. Edwin Bryant was Alcalde from February 22, 1847, to June 1, 1847. Copy of Contract for the Survey of the Town with Jasper O'Farrell, San Francisco, March 8, 1847, Bancroft Library, Elbert P. Jones, [Correspondence and Papers, 1846-1852], C-B 464. Note: O'Farrell did not want to survey more than 100 lots in the wooded area situated on the southern and western edges of the town.

19. Working across the Bay O'Farrell planned and laid out the new town of Francisca in May, 1847 (name changed latter to Benicia). O'Farrell also looked into the location of Thomas O. Larkin's Presidio claim in early March.

20. [Bill to the Town of San Francisco, August, 1847], "Jasper O' Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 99; Testimony of Jasper O'Farrell, Lestrade v. Barth, # 10624, p. 28.

21. *California Star*, February 20, 1847, p. 2, c. 3; and August 28, 1847, p. 1 c. 2-p. 2 c. 2. The beach and water lots were unoccupied because of the Mexican Government restrictions concerning settlement of the area within 200 varas of the water line of Yerba Buena cove.

22. U. S. Congress, House, *California and New Mexico*, House Executive Document, 31st Cong. 1st sess., Doc. 17 (Washington, D. C., 1849-1850), p. 146. *California Star*, March 20, 1847, p. 4, c. 2; *Californian*, March 20, 1847, p. 3, c. 2.

23. [Bill to Town of San Francisco, August, 1847], "Jasper O'Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 99.

24. The dating of this survey is based on the numbering of the fifty-vara lots and the date when the first lot of an area was granted. Wheeler, *Land Titles in San Francisco*, 39-55. No public sales of the fifty-vara and hundred-vara lots were held. As the survey and plan of each area of the fifty- and hundred-vara lots were completed these lots were offered at private sale by the Alcalde at a fixed price for each size. The price was fixed by law at $12 for a fifty-vara square lot and $25 for a hundred-vara square lot plus a cost of $3.62 for the deed and recording. All sales were strictly cash transactions. The conditions stipulated that the landowner must erect a building and fence the property within one year after the date of purchase. The necessary men, money, and lumber were, however, not available for such an effort. O'Farrell testified that he "made a plan of the Town first in April or May, 1847." Other than this statement, no documentation is available to support this assertion. Since it was the American practice of having a map made of the area before lots were granted, a map may have been made of the first 500 fifty-vara lots in order to fulfill his March 8th contract commitment, or perhaps one of all the fifty-vara lots north of Market Street.

25. Jasper O'Farrell to George Hyde, San Francisco, June 12, 1847, "Jasper O'Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 98. George Hyde served as Alcalde of San Francisco from June 1, 1847, to March 20, 1848.

26. John S. Hittell, *A History of the City of San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1878), 116.

27. Jasper O'Farrell to George Hyde, San Francisco, June, 1847, "Jasper O'Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 99.

28. *Californian*, June 19, 1847, p. 2, c. 3; *Californian*, July 10, 1847, p. 3, c. 3; *California Star*, July 17, 1847, p. 4, c. 1.

29. *Californian*, July 17, 1847, p. 3, c. 1. Major James A. Hardie (Commander of 1st New York Regt. of Volunteers at San Francisco) to Alcalde George Hyde, San Francisco, July 18, 1847, in John W. Dwinelle, *The Colonial History of the City of San Francisco*, 4th edition (San Francisco: Towne & Bacon, 1867), Addenda, 259 and 264. Neither the original nor any copy of this map is known to exist.

30. *California Star*, August 28, 1847, p. 1, c. 2. *Californian*, September 4, 1847, p. 2, c. 3.

31. Prices ranged from $50 to $600. The conditions for purchase of these lots were simply one quarter of the bargained price at the time of sale, another quarter six months later, a third quarter twelve months from the date of sale, and the last quarter of the sum after eighteen months plus the interest of ten per cent on the unpaid balance. *Californian*, July 24, 1847, p. 2, c. 2; *California Star*, August 28, 1847, p. 1, c. 2-3.

32. [Bill to the Town of San Francisco, August, 1847], "Jasper O'Farrell Correspondence," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers*, X (1933), 99.

33. *Ibid*, p. 99.

34. The original of the compiled map was reportedly hanging in the Recorder's Office in the San Francisco City Hall during the nineteenth century and was probably destroyed in the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. There is a redrawing of the map entitled "The Original and Authentic Plan of San Francisco" in the possession of the California Historical Society Map Collection, San Francisco, 1800-1850. Another copy is in the Bancroft Library, Map F869 S3 1850 G79. There are two altered photostats of the above map done by Thomas P. Burns which add to the title the words "'Jasper O'Farrell 1847." One of these photostats can be found in Thomas P. Burns, Centennial of the City of San Francisco, 1835-1935, Bancroft Library, (typewritten), C-R 73, p. 19; the other is in the Wells Fargo Bank History Room.

35. After his surveying in San Francisco, O'Farrell continued his profession, completing the surveys of eight more Mexican land grants in northern California and the nucleus of the towns of Tuleberg (Stockton) and Sonoma. O'Farrell then turned to new pursuits: ranching, farming, and mining. The year 1847 marked the beginning of his acquisition and development of roughly 60,000 acres of his three purchased Mexican land grants: Estéro Americano and Cañada de Jonive in Sonoma County and Cañada de Capay in Yolo County. In his public life he acted as an important and qualified witness in many of the land grant cases before the U. S. Board of Land Commissioners (U.S. Commission for Ascertaining and Settling Private Land Claims in California). He served as a state senator during 1859 and 1860 for the Eleventh District consisting of Marin, Sonoma, and Mendocino Counties; he ran for election as Lieutenant-Governor on the Breckinridge Democratic ticket of 1861 headed by John R. McConnell. From 1870 to 1873 he was a member of the Board of State Harbor Commissioners for San Francisco. Following numerous personal and financial setbacks, Jasper O'Farrell died in San Francisco on November 16, 1875.

36. *California Star*, August 28, 1847, p. 2, c. 1.

PICTURE SOURCES: Bancroft Library of University of California, page 173; California Historical Society, pages 166, 168; James G. Coffman, San Francisco, page 171.

Book Reviews

Modoc War: Its Military History and Topography. By Erwin N. Thompson. Preface by Keith Murray. (Sacramento: Argus Books, 1971. 253 pp. illus. $12.50.)

Reviewed by Pat Givan, *secondary California History and English teacher; and Chairman of the Modoc County History Committee.*

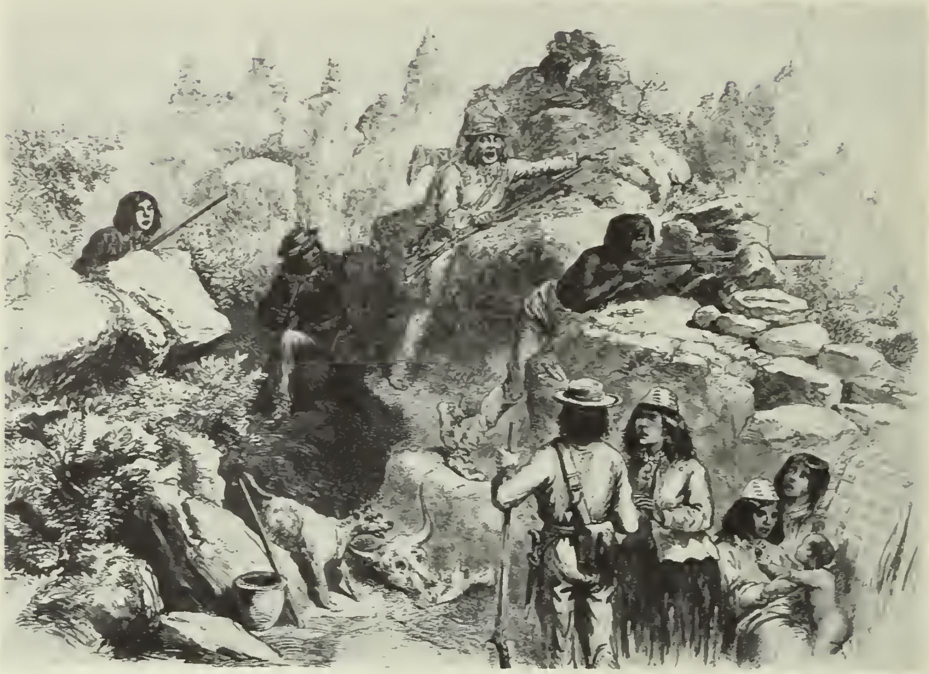
Modoc War opens with a brief description of the events that led up to the actual fighting. The pattern of the destruction of the Modocs of Northern California had been set elsewhere and before in the gross mismanagement of Indian affairs. It was a pattern that any fan of TV westerns can easily recite—white invasion and settlement, with increasing wariness and distrust on both sides; treaties made and broken, removal and resettlement; misunderstandings, individual violences and retaliations, and finally, punishment by the Great White Father by means of the bluecoats, and at last, extermination of the Indians and their way of life.

In the case of the Modocs, Verne F. Ray's "Primitive Pragmatists," there was only slight deviation from the pattern. It took them a very long time to die, partly because of their native intelligence, and partly because of the nature of part of their habitat.

Before the white man came, they had occupied a large, semi-square territory that is now cut in two by the Oregon-California boundary. They had a life-style that included permanent villages, a rather severe social structure, a religion, and an economy that was to a large degree based upon catching their Pit River neighbors and trading them as slaves to the Klamaths to the north. They had made an exquisite adaption to their hard, brittle, and beautiful land, making use of nearly everything that grew, swam, flew, or walked for food, shelter, clothing, and weapons. The land was theirs, and they mastered the art of survival in their land. Even their language was almost exclusively theirs, for their Klamath cousins understood them very poorly, and the Shastas to the west, the Pit Rivers to the south, and the Paiutes to the east understood them not at all.

The Modocs, with fighting skills sharpened by centuries of defeating all their fierce neighbors, made life miserable for the whites who first tried to pass through their territory. Yet, with a strange kind of resignation, they allowed the whites to live when they first settled on Modoc land. For a few years, they lived with the whites in a kind of mutually distrustful coexistence. But, after their fashion, the white men wanted everything, so they began to agitate for the Modocs to be pushed out of their Tule Lake and Lost River villages and removed to the Klamath Indian Reservation. In 1864, the Klamaths made a treaty with the Oregon Superintendent of Indian Affairs, by which they actually were given nearly all the lands that they had traditionally claimed. Also in 1864, the Modocs made a treaty for their lands with Steele, a California Indian agent. However, he was removed from office and the treaty was void. The Oregon agent stepped across the border, and tried to make a treaty with the Modocs, to pull them onto the Klamath Reservation and thus make the lion and the lamb, or the two lions, lie down at Uncle Sam's feet forever. Part of the Modocs, under Old Schonchin, moved to the Klamath Reservation, and stayed there (and their descendants are still there).

A group of militants, under Captain Jack, repeatedly left the reservation, mostly



The Modocs fought skillfully from well-nigh impregnable positions in the labyrinth of lava tubes and rock formations. The war attracted wide attention and drew correspondents from New York and Europe. *Harper's Weekly* covered the campaign thoroughly in text and pictures. (Courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento.)

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because their pride could not tolerate the insults and indignities thrown at them by the Klamaths. When, finally, they refused to go back to the Klamath Reservation, the Army, in the form of a company of Fort Klamath regulars, went after them, and the war was on.

Thus, between November 1872 and June 1873, a band of 50 to 70 Modoc Indians held out against a total 1,055 Army regulars, volunteers, and Warm Springs Indian Scouts. As Mr. Thompson shows us, the Modocs under Captain Jack repeatedly outmaneuvered and out-fought the U.S. Army. The worst of the fighting was on terrain of the Indians' choice—the lava beds in southeastern Modoc territory—an area which might easily be the Gateway to Hell. Full of honeycomb caves, natural pitfalls, and torturous and extensive flow-pathways, it provided a natural fortification for the Indians and a horrendous nightmare for their pursuers.

The total casualties for the Army side were: Regulars—enlisted men—killed in action, 46; wounded in action, 65; Officers—killed in action, 7 (including Brigadier General E. R. S. Canby, commander of the Columbia Department, Division of the Pacific); wounded in action, 4; Volunteers—enlisted men—killed in action, 4, wounded in action, 4. On the other hand, these were the Indian casualties: Men—killed in action, suicide, murdered, and hanged—approximately 16; women, several killed and wounded, total unknown.

From the point of view of pure strategy, the Modocs out-guessed and out-classed the Army at every turn, but they lost the war, principally because a group of Modocs managed to taunt their leaders into murdering Gen. Canby and Dr. Taylor while under a flag of truce. The leaders, Captain Jack, Schonchin John, Black Jim, and Boston Charley, were hunted down, caught, and—by sentence of the Army commission that tried them and with the approval of President Grant—hanged. Their bodies were buried in graves at Fort Klamath, and on the site of that deserted fort the four shallow depressions can be seen today. There lie, supposedly, the headless skeletons of four men who died, for all practical purposes, fighting for their country. Mr. Thompson presents what appears to be irrefutable evidence that, as has been darkly whispered for a century, the heads of Jack and the three others who died with him were severed by an Army surgeon, preserved, and sent east to be exhibited in the Army Medical Museum.

This unforgivable act of savage barbarism on the part of the Army could not have accomplished much of anything. If it was meant as a lesson to all Indians, the secrecy was illogical; and the Army Medical Museum was a poor place to teach lessons to Indians. In any case the effect was negligible and the lesson unlearned; for in 1873, the Little Big Horn was still three years in the future.

The two teenaged boys who were tried as accomplices in the Canby murder were sentenced to life in Alcatraz; one of them died of tuberculosis there; the other eventually was released to return to the Klamath Indian Reservation. The remainder of Captain Jack's militants—men, women, and children—were exiled to Quapaw Agency, Indian Territory, where those who did not die immediately lived in poverty, disgrace, filth, and disease until they were returned to the Klamath Reservation in the early 1900's.

Modoc War is a meticulously researched and marvelously well-documented recapitulation of the death struggle of the Modocs. It clearly observes that although some Modocs were removed peacefully to Klamath Reservation and lived to perpetuate their kind, the tribe and the life-style died on the scaffold at Fort Klamath and at the Quapaw Agency.

The action of the war was very complicated and took place upon one of the most unfriendly terrains in the United States. The copious notes of *Modoc War*, plus the fine appendices which contain excellent detailed maps, lists, and statistics, help the reader toward an understanding of why a simple corraling of a few recalcitrant Indians should have taken so long and cost so many lives.

The book does, however, contain a few startling inaccuracies: The Paiutes, mentioned in the Introduction, are not and never were Snakes; New Camp Warner, even by the measurement of the most carefully-flying crow, was never as close to the Lava Beds as sixty miles, and it was certainly much more distant by military roads.

Modoc War, the Preface modestly asserts, is a "reinterpretation" of the debacle which occurred a hundred years ago in the Lava Beds of present Modoc County, California. But the book seems much more than just a reinterpretation. Mr. Thompson has succeeded in writing a very readable factual and unbiased report of one of the ugliest incidents in the history of the United States, and in making it as fresh as though it had happened yesterday.

* * * * *

Modoc War is out in a limited edition of 1000 copies. If he brings out another edition, Mr. Thompson might do well to amend the final line of the main text—it states that the Modoc War constituted "A day to remember." He might instead say that "It was a day that might well be forgotten." It might well be forgotten, but it probably never will be.

Revolution and Intervention: The Diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico, 1910-1917. By P. Edward Haley. (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1970. xiii+294 pp. $10.00.)

Reviewed by N. STEPHEN KANE, *Assistant Professor of History at the University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh; specialist in United States-Latin American relations; and Associate Editor of* SOCIETAS—A REVIEW OF SOCIAL HISTORY.

P. EDWARD HALEY'S ACCOUNT of the diplomacy of Taft and Wilson with Mexico contains no surprises. In three chapters devoted to Taft and eight focusing on Wilson, the author has examined the important events and crises in Mexican-American relations during the initial phases of the Mexican Revolution to 1917: Taft's "maneuvers" along the border in response to the Madero uprising; the complicity of Ambassador Henry Lane Wilson in the coup against Madero; the efforts of President Wilson to oust Huerta, especially the intervention at Vera Cruz; the president's attempts to negotiate with the various revolutionary factions and his ultimate decision to recognize Carranza; the Pershing expedition; and the impact of the Zimmermann telegram. His sources are familiar, his interpretations standard, and his conclusions predictable.

Haley's main effort is directed toward describing how the Mexican policies of the two administrations were formulated and implemented, and explaining why they did or did not interfere in Mexican internal affairs. He concludes that though Taft was motivated by a basic hostility to revolutionary change, he operated within a narrowly defined range of objectives—i.e., the protection of American property rights in Mexico—which permitted him to rationalize "nonintervention by stressing that intervention would provoke the very destruction of American lives and property he desired to prevent." (p. 260) Unlike his predecessor, Wilson appreciated the socioeconomic aspirations of the revolutionaries, but he was impelled to intervene because his whole policy was predicated on a desire to control the destiny of the Revolution; that is, to shape its outcome within a Western political context. Wilson's course, the author implies in his epilogue, demonstrates the tendency of Americans to "universalize" their own revolutionary experience, a practice which Haley believes makes effective and constructive responses to foreign revolutions in the twentieth century difficult if not impossible.

Unfortunately, a number of defects limit the volume's usefulness as a scholarly tool. The author's literary style is not only uninspired, but he employs the unnecessary and annoying technique of quoting extensive passages from the documents, often stringing these quotations together with the aid of one or two transitional sentences. In certain respects the bibliography is deficient; important manuscript collections such as the papers of John J. Pershing and Frank L. Polk have not been consulted, and no attempt has been made to probe the Mexican sources. Consequently, Haley's treatment is not always well-balanced, and he fails to support adequately his contention that the Mexican revolutionary leaders skillfully exploited the vagaries and inconsistencies in Wilson's policies. More important, he apparently believes that policy formulation takes place in some sort of vacuum, unaffected by domestic politics, public opinion, or the activities of special interest groups. Finally, a few of his assertions about Robert Lansing are questionable, and his statement that in the *modus vivendi* of 1923 (Bucareli Agreements) "the Mexican government had yielded more than it had won . . ." (p. 79) is simply not so.

The student and nonprofessional reader will find Haley's book sufficiently worthwhile, but for those historians who are familiar with Lowry and Link, it has little to offer.

Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America. By J. Leitch Wright. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971. XIII + 257 pp. $10.00 hardbound.)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, *author and authority on naval voyages to the Pacific, and Associate Professor of History at the University of San Francisco.*

Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America is a survey of the conflict between Spain and England for control of the present-day United States, primarily the southeastern region, from the mid-sixteenth century to 1819. Professor Wright has consulted extensive archival holdings as well as published primary and secondary works, and although little new has been gleaned from this research, his study is concise and well written.

In his first three chapters, Professor Wright narrates the history of the initial exploration of the Atlantic Seaboard of North America by Spain and England, the rising conflict between Spain on the one hand and France and England on the other in the sixteenth century, and the strategic occupation of Florida by Spain in 1565. The next four chapters treat of the establishment of English Virginia, encroachments into Spanish claims in Carolina and Georgia, Anglo-Indian alliances, and the English occupation of Spanish-claimed Georgia as a result of these alliances.

Diplomacy, war, smuggling, and Franco-Spanish alliances are treated in chapters eight, nine, and ten, and their relationship to the overall picture of Spanish holdings in Louisiana and the Floridas are discussed. The final five chapters deal with Spain's role in the American Revolution, post-revolutionary Anglo-Indian-Spanish *ententes* against the United States, and the decline of Spanish power in the Americas due to the Napoleonic Wars and the Latin American Wars of Independence.

Throughout the work events in North America are related to European and Latin American struggles for a balance of power, and the complexities of Anglo-Spanish diplomacy and symbolic possession as opposed to effective occupation are well covered. Nevertheless, little is said of the Nootka Sound Controversy, Drake in California, or of the United States' role in Spain's decline in the Southeast. Although these are oft-told histories, the work's general format could have profited from a broader view of North America and from more detailed treatment of these events.

Notes to the text, an analytical index, and an extensive bibliography follow the body of the book. This reviewer, despite the author's disclaimer, considers the bibliography to be the primary original contribution here, for although citations to archival materials are vague (*e.g.*, the citing of A.G.I., Audiencia de México by inclusive dates, thus implying that over 3,000 bundles of documents were consulted), and the author has justified the use of outdated Archivo General de Indias numbers on the grounds that many libraries in the United States still employ them (this certainly does not encourage the updating of catalogs 40 years in arrears!), the published materials cited are very inclusive.

While a good general study, Professor Wright's book unfortunately does not fill the need for a single-volume detailed treatise of the conflict of Spain and England for colonial possessions and trade advantages in North America. The more specialized works of Bolton, Caughey, Crane, Lanning, TePaske, Whitaker, and others remain the standards in this field.

Nevada Ghost Towns & Mining Camps: By Stanley Paher. (Berkeley: Howell North. 1970. $15.00.)

Reviewed by DAYTON LUMMIS, *former Associate Curator of History at the Oakland Museum.*

MARK TWAIN WROTE, in *Roughing It*: "In no other land, in modern times, have towns so absolutely died and disappeared, as in the old mining regions of California." Today, that statement would be even more true of Nevada, which is literally dotted with abandoned sites where mining camps sprung up, flourished as towns, and vanished, sometimes almost overnight. But the essence of what it was all about is preserved in Stanley Paher's remarkable book, an outstanding collection of photographs and detailed text. This well-organized analysis deals with over 575 Nevada mining camps, great and small, and thoroughly documents the energies which men expended in the extraction of precious metals in an essentially remote and hostile environment. Paher shows the processes of abandonment and decay as ore deposits gave out, and the way in which the desert reclaims the scenes of man's brief tenancy—a process which may be observed even today on the outskirts of such modern towns as Reno and Carson City. "Like a tin can, a mining camp often lies where it is thrown. . . ," wrote an early Nevada newspaper editor, and scene after scene from Mr. Paher's well-researched selection of photographs amply demonstrates the acuteness of this observation. And the faces of the nameless men who made this history stare out from the detailed and well-produced photographs; typical of a Western mining rush, no dandies these, but probably the worst-dressed and most unsavoury appearing groups of men in history.

One is impressed by the care and research the author has put into this book. Organized by geographical region, town by town, with useful and well-drawn maps, Mr. Paher's book has covered Nevada as thoroughly as did the early treasure hunters. We are continually reminded of the extensive development of the state in prior years, and the degree to which that development has simply vanished.

After spending some time with this book, the reader will probably want to visit some of the scenes of these forgotten mining camps, where in the quiet starkness of the desert one can recapture some of the feeling of what it was like in those times. This urge is obviously anticipated, for an additional bonus is an excellent chapter on desert travel. All in all, a most worthwhile addition to the portrayal of our Western experience, with an admirably bright and attractive jacket.

Origins of Hydraulic Mining in California. By Philip Ross May. (Oakland: The Holmes Book Company. 1970. 62 pp. illus. $6.95.)

Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson, *Professor of History at the University of California at Davis.*

Philip Ross May travelled a great distance from his New Zealand home to study California mining. One phase that interested him was hydraulic operations, long recognized by historians as California's unique contribution to the world-wide industry. In an introduction, May comments on the importance of this process, perhaps to justify his investigation. After explaining in technical terms just what is meant by hydraulic mining, he presents figures proving that at least twenty-five per cent of California's gold production prior to 1884 was by this method. Moreover, the hydraulic process accelerated the transformation of the California mining industry from a highly individualistic business to a capitalistic endeavor with specialized labor. Hydraulic activity not only resulted in the classic conflict between the miners of the Sierra foothills and the farmers in the Great Valley, fully described in Robert Kelley's well-known book, but also contributed a more positive legacy in the elaborate system of dams, reservoirs, and ditches subsequently utilized for irrigation, generation of hydro-electric power, and municipal water systems. Indirectly, hydraulic mining also provided impetus to the study of geological science.

May has joined the ranks of western American historians who continue to lament the emphasis on the initial, romantic aspect of gold rushes to the neglect of later, more mature phases of the industry dealing with engineering, technology, investment, management, and labor.

The author addresses himself to basic questions still in dispute: "Was hydraulicking a California invention or had it been anticipated on earlier mining frontiers? Was it an invention, a chance discovery, or a simple evolution? When, where, and under what circumstances was hydraulicking introduced to the gold country of California?" He asserts the claim that hydraulic mining had its origins in the gold rush of California is uncontestable. Beyond this point, all is uncertainty. With meticulous attention to the details of local history, May traces the introduction of various inventions and innovations that evolved into hydraulic mining procedures—tom, sluice box, water ditch, gravel sluicing, and bank blasting. Virtually everything took place in the region north of Amador County, most of it in Yuba and Nevada County, and specifically in the Nevada City area. One gains the impression that hydraulic mining evolved from pragmatic attention to practical problems and on occasional chance discovery, rather than being suddenly conceived by a stroke of genius.

Then the question is raised, "who was the father of hydraulicking?" Edward E.

Matteson or Anthony Chabot? Again the verdict is ambivalent. Both men made a contribution. Their careers offer a magnificent contrast in life styles. Matteson was a man of the masses who participated in a folk movement, one who possessed technical ingenuity, was alienated from society, and became an economic failure after the placer claims gave out. Chabot's career symbolizes the entrepreneur, the rational capitalist who adjusted to new situations making money from water rather than gold, engaged in philanthropy and honored in the closing years of his life.

May has achieved in doing what every historian wishes to do: to report and interpret a subject so thoroughly that the research and writing never needs to be done again. Some may dismiss the effort as an academic exercise. Others will question the justification for publishing a thin book of approximately seventy-five pages in a limited edition at a comparatively high price. Perhaps this young man from Down Under has issued a challenge to resident, professional California historians, most of whom would consider his topic too specialized to merit serious study. When all is said, investigations in local history, when done as well as this one, provide the solid foundations upon which historians with broader, interpretive interests can build.

Archaeological Explorations on San Nicolas Island. By Bruce Bryan. (Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1970. 160 pp. $8.75.)

Reviewed by HELEN C. SMITH, *former editor and currently associate editor of the* PACIFIC COAST ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY.

BRUCE BRYAN, Curator of Southwest Museum, has written a report spanning 32 years in his life and at least 4000 years in the aboriginal occupancy of San Nicolas Island in the south Santa Barbara Channel. The most isolated and storm-bound of the eight Channel Islands, San Nicolas has had the fewest visitors and thus has a much smaller body of lore than the others. There are no tales such as those of Santa Catalina's freebooters and smugglers, the romantic ranchos of Santa Rosa and Santa Cruz, or the ghosts, ancient and modern, of San Miguel.

San Nicolas, covering about 20,000 acres, less than half the area of Catalina, supported in late prehistoric times up to 1500 Chumash Indians, allied to the other Canaliño of the Santa Barbara Channel, with whom they had communication and trade. Mr. Bryan's work there since 1926 has yielded abundant proof of their ability to exploit their environment, to live off fish, shellfish, and small mammals, to use animal hides and sea grasses for clothing, to use stone and shell utensils in lieu of pottery, cobbles and driftwood for shelter, and even the large bones of stranded whales for houses. They made fishhooks from abalone shell, they used asphaltum to stop holes in abalone shells and to ornament artifacts of stone and bone with tiny carved beads of shell. Unique to a few sites along the channel, including San Nicolas, are small bird, animal and fish effigies carved from Catalina steatite. These are lively and accurate and sometimes abstract, and are thought to be a late manifestation.

There remains a barren outpost subject to violent weather, difficult of access, tenanted by the United States Navy as a tracking and missile station. Subject to depredations of Aleut hunters and explorers in the 18th century, the Indians were removed by missionaries in the 1830s; the island's physical deterioration has since been hastened by erosion stemming from sheep over-grazing and from ground disturbances by visitors seeking artifacts.

Mr. Bryan performs a service to an increasingly archaeology-oriented public by describing the island, its artifactual remains and its obvious deterioration over the years between his first visit, from October to December 1926 for the Los Angeles Museum to his work there between 1958 and 1960 for the Southwest Museum. The reader may make his own comparison of the differing methods of investigation followed on the two expeditions, the result of the change in the aims and techniques of archaeology.

With many illustrations from both Mr. Bryan's visits, with a foreword by Carl S. Dentzel and an introduction by Clement W. Meighan, UCLA anthropologist, this volume allows the reader to enjoy a vicarious visit to San Nicolas without suffering the buffering of wind, waves and stinging sand.

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THE PUBLICATION OF

A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain

By Sr. Dn. Pedro Alonso O'Crouley

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY SEÁN GALVIN

Translated from the Spanish manuscript, this remarkable text is in print for the first time. It introduces the reader to the many curious and interesting aspects of 18th century New Spain, the Mexico of colonial times. The author, Pedro Alonso O'Crouley, was born in Spain in 1740, his parents having come from Ireland. Making his first trip to New Spain at 24, he was intrigued by the life which surrounded him, and thus filled his book with the colour and people of the new land.

A Description of the Kingdom of New Spain contains 172 pages of text, 12 full-page colour plates of Indians and the different races, 22 black and white plates, 7 pages of fruits and flowers, and a full-size contemporary map (1768) in full colour by Don Joseph Antonio de Alzate y Ramirez. Designed and printed by Lawton and Alfred Kennedy, this fascinating text is priced at only $10.00 and is available from John Howell—*Books*, 434 Post Street, San Francisco 94102.

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OLD VILLAGE, YOSEMITE VALLEY, 1915

COVER: Parking was no problem in Yosemite in the winter of 1915. Motor cars had been grudgingly admitted to the park only two years before and their operation was proscribed by an onerous set of regulations, reproduced verbatim beginning on page 207. The two automobiles, parked in the snow at the Old Village, were modest forerunners of the horde of vehicles that would eventually overwhelm the park. (Photograph courtesy of the National Park Service Reference Library, Yosemite.)

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Professor Caughey has had a long and distinguished career as scholar, teacher, and editor in the field of California and Western history.

The Californian and His Environment

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN in California is some 20,000 years, give or take a few millenia. Skeletal remains found near Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles test out at 9,000 years old, and a find of dinosaur bones with carvings made when the bones were "green" pushes the horizon back to 15,500 years. On a broader base of anthropological evidence a few thousand more years are added. Over that span California has been a proving ground where successive populations tested their mode of living.

The Indians, first on the scene, monopolized 99 percent of this time span. Then, beginning in 1769, came a half century when California was a Spanish outpost colony, a quarter century when it was Mexican, another 25 years or so when gold mining dominated, followed by a railroad age of about twice that duration, an interval of prosperity, depression, and the Second World War, and the postwar or modern epoch. These seven divisions are a bit arbitrary, but they provide that many sets of inhabitants which can be graded on their respective adjustments to and wear and tear on the environment.

The Indians were on the most intimate terms with Nature. They built up a comprehensive familiarity with what the region offered that was edible or medicinal, what could be shaped into tools and weapons, containers or garments. These prehistoric Californians fished and hunted but primarily gathered. Because they put little emphasis on agriculture, war, government, or organized religion, they made a poor impression on the Spanish and American pioneers. Anthropologists, to the contrary, astutely praise the intricate process that made acorn meal edible, the exquisite and practical baskets, the sewed-plank boats of the Santa Barbara Channel, the sophistication in philosophy and literature, and the remarkable fact that these Indians were so numerous.

NOTE: By special arrangement with the Institute of American History at Stanford University, the California Historical Society is privileged to publish a series of papers prepared by nine distinguished historians and read before a conference celebrating California's bicentennial, held at Stanford in 1970. Some of the essays will be published first in the *Quarterly* and all will be issued by the Society next spring in a book entitled *New Perspectives on California History*. The series is introduced in this issue with the two articles: the following essay and Walton Bean's review of the history of radicalism in California politics, beginning on page 213.

The Indians left a few marks on the land. At Emeryville and elsewhere on San Francisco Bay their kitchen middens built up into shellmounds. Arrowheads are still found. More in evidence are the mortar holes in boulders and exposed slabs where the acorn grinding took place. These and the cave paintings of the Chumash and some of their neighbors, if not vandalized, will last for centuries, as reminders of these creative first Californians. To their everlasting credit they lived in harmony with the environment, did not exterminate a single species, and passed the land on to their successors unsullied and undamaged.

Spain's representatives came to this province in small numbers and with limited objectives. After six lean years, the Anza reinforcement of slightly over 200 persons doubled the foreign population. Another six years later a contingent of 44 men, women and children was recruited and conducted to California to found the pueblo of Los Angeles. Eventually 20 missions, four presidios, and two of three attempted civilial pueblos were strung out along El Camino Real from San Diego to San Rafael. After 50 years Spain's holders of the outpost colony, the so called *gente de razón*, had passed 2,000 in number and the mission Indians work force was another 20,000.

The Spaniards introduced wheat, maize, beans, squashes, lentils, fruit trees, and the vine—unfortunately the inferior mission grape. They brought horses and cattle. Pure nature lovers may deplore these intrusions, though migration of species occurs in nature as well as in company with man. The Spaniards erected ramadas and huts and, after a time, adobe houses, presidial walls, plastered and tiled mission buildings which seemed as appropriate to this land as to Spain and northern Mexico. As in those areas, the Spaniards began tillage with irrigation, which was an improvement on nature.

Another 25 years later, at the close of the Mexican period, the *gente de razón* were perhaps three times as numerous, but the Indian work force was considerably reduced. The two pueblos had grown and clusters of population existed at San Diego, Santa Barbara, Monterey, Yerba Buena, Sonoma, and Sutter's Fort. The former mission lands and additional lands in the coastal belt and along the lower Sacramento had been parcelled out as ranchos. The marks on the land still were minimal, with no scarred hillsides and no appreciable erosion.

Two species had been virtually eliminated, the sea otter and the beaver, but their destruction was by American, Russian, and Aleut poachers in the Spanish period and by Rocky Mountain fur trappers entering without consent in the Mexican period.

Spanish-Mexican contact had also resulted in the decimation of the Indians in the southwestern third of present-day California, a tragedy not intended by Spanish or Mexican policy which on the contrary relied on the Indians as a permanent element in the population.

An inheritance appraiser checking the estate left by the late Hispanic owners might have noted the reduced Indian work force, which of course is not to say that they were part of the property. He would have subtracted for the exhaustion of the otter and beaver supply.

On the plus side he would have listed improvements in houses and corrals, dams and *zanjas*, orchards and vineyards, fields made tillable, oxen broken to the yoke, horses gentled, and thousands of head of cattle and horses on the open range. The American zeal to break Mexican land titles and take over the improvements indicates endorsement of such an appraisal.

That inventory of resources stands somewhat aside from the bionomics. The ecology in 1848 was approximately as sound as it had been in 1768, and that means as sound as it had been in 18,000 or 20,000 B.C. when the first Indian arrived on the scene.

In the course of the next couple of decades a massive invasion of "blue-eyed strangers" and others ran the population, other than Indians, up to half a million. In those same years the number of Indians was halved and halved again by disease, interference with their accustomed food supply, and outright killings. The thousands upon thousands of men who engaged in the early placer mining made a relatively small disturbance of the terrain along the Mother Lode. A few evidences are still visible, among them clusters of hummocks, three or four feet high, where drywashers piled up rocks and dirt. The lode or hard rock miners left sharper reminders of their presence. The hydraulic miners left their yawning craters and the gold dredgers their windrows of boulders as eyesore and useless until a century later when some of them went into the fill for Oroville Dam.

More devastatingly, the technologically advanced gold washers, relatively few in number, set in motion a mammoth flow of debris that buried good farmland, fouled the waters and ended the salmon runs, raised river beds, and multiplied flood damage all the way to the mouth of the Sacramento.

Because of the mining there were upsurges in lumbering, hauling, and farming. The lumbermen cut ruthlessly into every convenient stand of timber. Much of the work was wastefully done, as in chopping a great fallen trunk into sections that could be handled at the saw mills. The attitude toward standing timber was exactly the one that had prevailed in the American advance from the Piedmont to the Ohio Valley to Minnesota. There was a callousness about felling ancient oaks to fuel the stamps in the diggings and about sawing up thousand-year-old redwoods.

Bay and river boats and coastal shipping ornamented rather than marred the landscape, but horses, wagons, and stages beat paths, stirred dust in the dry season, and rutted badly in the wet season. Beef and wheat led the agricultural growth, followed by expanded plantings of vines and fruit trees.

Disaster struck the southern California ranches in the early sixties. It was invited by overstocking and overgrazing, but the real trouble was a vagary in rainfall, to which the region is exposed. In this instance two very dry winters were followed by torrential rains and flooding. The environment was more at fault than the ranchers.

In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth lumbering was pushed more vigorously to the point of exhausting commercial stands in the southern California mountains, the Santa Cruz area, and the immediate vicinity of the mines. Cutting advanced into the Sierra and redwood empire forests. Atrocities were committed such as cutting a wagon-wide passageway through the base of a giant sequoia or sectioning off the bark so that it could be reassembled as a sideshow exhibit. The logging threat to the Giant Sequoias stimulated conservationists to reach for state and federal intervention to preserve some at least of these unique specimens. Mines and smelters, cement plants, sand and gravel pits, oil refineries and tank farms, slaughterhouses, tanneries, and city dumps became blemishes on the landscape, measurably localized damages to the ecology. The owners of the smelter at Selby, to cite one instance, had to buy up the pasture land across Carquinez Strait to silence the complaints that fumes from the smelter were ruining those grasslands.

The railroad, which was the dominant feature of the period, was less offensive, especially after oil burning displaced wood and coal. Its steel rails lay innocently on the roadbed, and native vegetation persisted along the right of way when virtually eliminated elsewhere. In many a scene the passing train was a pleasing accent, its whistle a welcome sound, and its pulsating machinery a delight. Furthermore, transportation by rail, which was dominant until the 1920's, channeled travelers across the deserts and through the Sierra without giving them much chance to harm these delicate balances of land and biota. The bulk of Californians both resident and visitor kept to the inhabited coastal and valley lowlands, sparing the Sierra, the Coast Ranges, and the deserts.

In the 1870's and the next four decades, agriculture made great strides with vast increases in the plantings of vines and fruit trees, sugar beets, and, late in the period, other row crops. Grain farming extended to some marginal lands that might better have been left in pasturage, and hay, especially alfalfa, became a major crop. California became the number one honey state and moved up in milk and egg production. On the whole this agricultural growth was ecologically sound, enlarged the capacity for photosynthesis, and enhanced the beauty of the countryside.

In this period reclamation projects made important additions to the agricultural potential. George Chaffey bored into mountain streambeds to find water for Upland, Ontario, and Etiwanda, and diverted water from the Colorado for gravity flow into Imperial Valley. Making the desert bloom and produce seemed an altogether desirable alternative to allowing Colorado River water waste into the Gulf of California. Leaving aside issues of municipal morality and private profit grabbing, Owens Valley water yielded more valuable crops when allotted to agriculture in San Fernando Valley.

In a much less visible project in the lower Sacramento Valley, federal aid, engineering, and management combined with private-enterprise agriculture exorcised the worst flood hazards along the lower Sacramento and multiplied agricultural output and profits through what was also an ecological improvement.

In the 1920's and 30's several changes occurred that should have alarmed friends of the environment and to some extent did. Population doubled, as it had been doing every twenty years, but this time the increment was 3.5 million more residents, consumers, water users, and recreationers to accommodate. In the boom of the twenties subdividers put prime agricultural land out of production, sometimes most blatantly as when they hacked down orange groves to make room for residential lots.

The great water projects of this epoch had respectability. Boulder Dam ended flood hazard for Imperial Valley, produced hydroelectric power which no one criticized, and made water available to Los Angeles and environs. Although Coloradans and others upstream groused that it was their water the Angeleños were syphoning off, the national economy would be enhanced and at no discernible cost to the continental or global ecology. The Central Valley project raised acrimonious debate on the 160-acre limitation. Its dividends in flood reduction for the Sacramento Valley and restoring the water table in the San Joaquin Valley would boost the income of the state by correcting Nature. This project was claimed to be the sort of readjustment "that God would have made had he known the facts in the case."

In these years the oil companies struck bonanzas in the Los Angeles, Wilmington, Signal Hill, and Kettleman Hills fields. Giant tank farms were built but could not have kept up with the flood of oil except that the Panama Canal was fortuitously available for tankers in shuttle service to east coast refineries.

Except for a few seepages such as those at La Brea and off Coal Oil Point, California's petroleum lay dormant far below the surface. It mattered no more to the ecology whether it remained there or was extracted than it had mattered whether the gold deposits were drawn out or left in deposit. In their discovery drillings and their extractions the oil companies defaced the landscape with ungainly machinery and malodorous open tanks. Spillage there or at the refineries or in shipment was a menace. These damages, however, were localized. The general feeling was one of gratitude for oil burning ships and locomotives. The oil industry was not charged with appreciable disruption of the ecology.

A companion burgeoning industry, movie making, came under heavy criticism as a deplorable influence on morals. The developer of a famous subdivision adjacent to Hollywood activated this disapproval with restrictive covenants excluding two categories, one of which was the moving picture people. The studio lots were more bizarre than beautiful, but of them tourists were enamored and Californians tolerant. Ecologically speaking, movie making was one of the cleanest of industries.

Other industries on the upgrade at the time, among them garment making, furniture making, food packaging, and airplane assembling, were not noisome. Two others, the real estate business and the tourist industry, bore down more heavily on the land.

Suddenly in the 1920's Californians committed themselves to the automobile. Roads had to be paved and extended in all directions. We needed gas and filling stations, tire factories, automobile assembling plants, and installment purchasing as a means of acquiring these cars. These improvements came, but hot on their heels a sudden proliferation of littering, with picnickers and campers at every road side and road's end and discarded tires and cars distressingly slow in disintegrating once taken out of service.

We motorists of the twenties put the choke on streetcars and electric interurbans, though they limped along for another few years. We set an immediate strain on Yosemite and other preservations of wilderness. Undoubtedly we also contributed to pollution of the air and overtaxed the natural agents in photosynthesis, though neither the scientists nor Calvin Coolidge told us about it at the time. The major concern then was about the prodigal burning up of the world's limited supply of petroleum, a concern easy to put out of mind in the delicious new experience of being able to drive oneself almost anywhere one wanted to go and anytime.

The automobile carried people into the far corners of the state, almost inviolate in the railroad era. It made it easier and cheaper to migrate to California and thereby contributed to the dramatic rise in population. Even earlier there had been Californians who wished to protect the state against further population growth, a premonition of Lee DuBridge's plug for Zero Population Growth and Art Seidenbaum's more subversive solicitation for Lesser Los Angeles. The earliest expression that I can personally document is my grandmother's conviction in 1910 that Pasadena was getting too crowded and that "there should be a law" against any more people moving to California. She and my grandfather had come the year before.

In the immigration control act of 1924 Congress set a slight brake on population increase in California. In the thirties the red squad of the Los Angeles Police made a misguided and unconstitutional effort to turn back selected entrants at the state border. Others deprecated the coming of the Oakies. A few Californians (such as Lindley Bynum) genuinely lamented that they had not lived in the good old days of the 1830's, but the Chambers of Commerce, the All-Year Club, and every right thinking Californian saw a direct correlation between population increase, prosperity, and progress, a conviction which the Great Depression only accentuated. The more the merrier would be the theme song of the Great Prosperity of the next thirty years. California history as written and taught registers this interpretation.

In the course of the onrushing forties, fifties, and sixties, 7 million Californians became 20 million; the state that already led in agricultural production pushed farther in front; the Gross State Product in goods and services hit $100 billion; the state budget under Governor Edmund G. Brown reached $4 billion and under Governor Ronald Reagan advanced to a recommended $6.35 billion; the state that was far in the lead with dozens of crops became number one in space and defense industries and in contracts from the Pentagon and NASA. Gas tax money had built the finest set of freeways in the world. California was investing more in higher education than any other state except New York. An Ivy League inventor of a yardstick for quality of living reported that California scored highest, and there were other ways of saying that this was the new Terrestrial Paradise.

In book titles, however, there were cries of dismay and anger by Richard Lillard of *Eden in Jeopardy*, by Raymond Dasmann on *The Destruction of California* and by William Bronson on *How To Kill a Golden State*, while Samuel E. Wood said *California, Going, Going*, and left us waiting in ellipsis for the word [*Gone*]. A quarterly jeremiad used as masthead *Cry California*.

The sardines disappeared, whole fields of kelp disappeared, the brown pelicans lost capacity to lay hatchable eggs. Smog, which dawned on Los Angeles in 1943, enveloped Pasadena, the San Fernando and Pomona Valleys, San Diego, San Jose, and even San Francisco. The lumber companies accelerated logging the redwoods, though Governor Reagan offered the consolation that "when you have seen one redwood, you have seen them all." The 5-acre desert homestead and the dunebuggy threatened ruination of desert plant life, archeological sites, and centuries-old Indian trails. Public campgrounds through the state had turnaway crowds and reservation lists as much as a year in advance. Yosemite Valley became a traffic jam and a slum, and the Park Service found it necessary to airlift two government-gray outhouses to the summit of Mt. Whitney. Public beach frontage fell to one quarter inch per Californian.

Freeway sprawl has retired wide belts of agricultural land through every valley in the state. Residential sprawl, industrial sprawl, airport sprawl, and miscellaneous sprawl has forced agriculture to flee to second class and third class land. Wastes and sewage and other solid fill have reduced San Francisco Bay to a fraction of its original dimensions. If not stayed, this desecration will narrow it to an open sewer. Installing concrete sides and bottom, the Army Engineers made the Los Angeles River look like an open sewer. What saves it from being one is that it runs only when it rains. Lack of stream flow may be the miracle that has kept all of California's streams out of the first ten in pollution, among them the Houston Ship Canal, the Cuyahoga, the Ohio, the Rouge, the Passaic, and the Merrimack.

But the Los Angeles Harbor authorities have saved their pilings from being eaten away by letting the water become so polluted as to be lifeless; Santa Monica Bay seagulls make daily pilgrimage to the cut-and-fill garbage disposal in the Santa Monica Mountains now being renamed the Santa Garbage Mountains; and San Francisco is dickering with the Western Pacific for a daily garbage train to interested and willing Lassen County near the Nevada border. Affluence, nonreturnable bottles, plastic disposables that are indestructible, fail-sure toys and gadgets, and a use-and-discard philosophy and economy threaten to leave us and our high standard of living perched on top of a record-high pile of trash and garbage.

That our headlong advance in population, prosperity, purchasing power and consumption, and in methods and mechanisms might give us a backlash has long been registering on our senses of sight, smell, hearing, and touch. Prior knowledge has been available that some of the procedures we were using required compensatory programs. For instance, Iowa farmers knew as early as 1910 that many fields had to be tiled, that is, fitted with subsoil drainage, if they were to be kept productive. The subsoil wastes from the Welton irrigation district in Arizona so salted the Colorado just above the border that the United States had to release additional good water to keep the quality up to treaty standards. We were, therefore, somewhat prepared for the Sierra Club's recent diatribe against the California Water Project because it lacks a reliable mechanism for disposing of the heavily charged waste waters that it will generate.

But suddenly in the last few years has come a crescendo of warnings about individual liberties we have been taking with the environment and about the sum total of these liberties. Why, we ask, were we not warned earlier that DDT had a potential for building up in herbacious animals and in the ocean and in mothers' milk? Why were we not advised earlier that, when pollution is spread to the uppermost atmosphere as in the contrails of high flying jets or rockets, it is dissipated only very slowly? Why were we not told that this upper level float of pollution may shut off the Earth's receptivity of solar heat? Why were we not told that the inordinate amount of combustion in which we engage is raising the temperature enough to threaten the delicate global balance? Why were we not told that the surplus amount of carbon dioxide thus produced and the concurrent diminishment of vegetation may slow down photosynthesis to the point that overheating will occur that will melt the polar icecaps and subject the Earth to mammoth flooding that would cover most of urban California? Why were we not told that, what with the heat that must be disposed of and the radioactive wastes for which there is no safe place for deposit, nuclear power is not clean after all? Why were we not told that our tampering with the ecology is so nearly out of hand that there may be no repair? No doubt some voices were raised, but the Doomsday dimensions of the consequences of the Scientific Revolution and the Population Explosion were not communicated.

On the basis of evidence such as we are accustomed to handling, we as historians can see that twentieth century man, increasingly in the last three decades, has been making improvident use of the Earth's stockpiled resources and putting a highly dangerous strain on the environment. We can identify the horsemen of this apocalypse as the explosions in population, science, and technology and an extravagance of consumption which threatens wholesale disruption of the ecology and of the Earth's capacity to sustain life. Californians are hyperactive in making these overdrafts. The horsemen, en route to Doomsday, do great damage to the California that we prize.

Remedies proposed begin with a bandaid and aspirin division which is not to be despised. Included are such actions as the Sierra Club scavengers, backpacking cans and other litter out of the High Sierra; Ladybird's highway beautification drive; President Nixon's proposals of $400 million a year for ten years from the federal treasury for ladling pollution out of our rivers; and the campaign to forbid off-pavement use of the dunebuggy and its two-wheeled sidekick.

Ecologists and cosmic scientists ridicule such mild measures as catering merely to the superficial symptoms but buying no time in which to prevent total disaster. They prescribe much more drastic and heroic measures:

1) to trim down not only the population increase but the population,

2) to cut back consumption by behaving more like the residents of the Underdeveloped Countries,

3) to cure pollution at its sources by stopping the production of pollution,

4) recognizing that much of the worst pollution and ravaging is by Man and the Machine, to slack off on mechanization,

5) to housebreak science. Obviously we need better calculation of side-effects and after-effects before new drugs, detergents, insecticides, and food additives go on the market. Ecologists were horrified at Edward Teller's call for nuclear explosions to open a sea-level Panama Canal and to make deserts habitable and productive.

This total prescription would involve reversing present programs and adopting a new value system. The track record of the Californians—that is, their history—has little in it to suggest that they will readily set aside present comforts and satisfactions for future benefits to them and to posterity, particularly if those benefits are nebulous. Californians, like other Americans, have accepted drastic reforms only after being hit by major disaster or breakdown.

California history, except for the most recent chapters, has been strongly encouraging to optimism. The environment showed itself highly resilient and competent to support every one of the successive life styles from Indian to Spanish, to Mexican pastoral, to the days of 'forty-nine, to the railroad age, and the prewar urban and agricultural emphasis, up to but not including the present. The automobile was a portent, but only since the Second World War has overtaxing of the resources risen to crisis. The tipping point was that recent; the breaking point, we are told, is just ahead.

California's greatest poet, Robinson Jeffers, made himself unpopular by harsh criticism of man's impact on the planet and by his conclusion that man did not deserve to survive and would not survive. California historians never came close to such an interpretation.

California history, on the contrary, as written and studied, has been the saga of growth and progress usually quantitatively measured. It has shown man taming the frontier, struggling against a land often refractory, maximizing population, and achieving a cultured, sophisticated urban life. So far as the ecology was concerned, man has appeared as the ringmaster, putting the subhuman participants through their paces and substituting at his pleasure. It must come to many Californians as revolutionary thinking that man himself is in the ecological chain or ring and is not at liberty to break that connection.

The oncoming generation, as we have always assumed, will require history rewritten to be relevant to its needs. The need right now is for a pioneering effort, rescuing from threat of oblivion the achievements of men such as Theodore Payne in the propagation of California's native shrubs and flowers and John McLaren with his hand-made Golden Gate Park. The more difficult task will be to pioneer with a new value system compatible with continued functioning of the ecology and, for the world as a whole, aborting the apocalypse which some say will be with us even before 1984.

Paul C. Johnson

Author, Sierra Album, Pictorial History of California, This Beautiful World: Yosemite; *editor of California Historical Quarterly.*

Turn of The Wheel: The Motor Car vs. Yosemite

"SHALL AUTOMOBILES be allowed to enter Yosemite?" queried the American Alpine Club of John Muir in 1912. He replied resignedly: "Doubtless under certain precautionary restrictions, these useful, progressive, blunt-nosed mechanical beetles will hereafter be allowed to puff their way into the park and mingle their gas-breath with the breath of the pines and waterfalls—and, from the mountaineers' standpoint, with but little harm or good."[1]

At that time, automobiles had not been permitted to enter Yosemite since the turn of the century. Three or four had been driven into the park over the rutted stage roads in 1900 and 1901, but the noisy contraptions frightened horses, then the principal means of motive power within the park, and the admittance of motor cars was officially banned in 1901.

Muir's dour prediction came true only a few months after he had written to the Alpinists. A combination of the rapid improvement of the rural road system and the proliferation of privately owned motor vehicles finally forced the authorities to admit automobiles in 1913. The roads in Yosemite still belonged to the horse, however, and the motor car was tolerated under a bristling list of 65 do's and don'ts, reproduced verbatim on the following pages.[2]

As this amusing specimen of governmentese reveals, autos were not particularly welcome. Among other admonishments, drivers were told how fast they could drive (10 miles an hour maximum), how long they could tarry to load and unload (5 minutes), and how to behave when meeting mounted parties on cliff-side roads (park on the "dangerous side").

Present-day drivers may find these 1914 restrictions laughable—but the last rueful laugh may well be enjoyed by the National Park Service. After six decades of unbridled access to Yosemite, automobiles are now overrunning the park. Today, an average of 10,000 a day crowd into the valley on holiday week ends, overtaxing the road system and generating a pall of smog. In reprisal, the Park Service has initiated a gradual though modified return to the 1901 ban. The Yosemite Master Plan of 1971 calls unequivocally for "the complete removal of the automobile from the valley."[3]

At least, in 1914 it was possible to drive within the park, even if the chauffeur had to honk at every turn.

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ADMISSION OF AUTOMOBILES INTO THE YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK, SEASON OF 1914.

Department of the Interior,
Washington, D. C., June 3, 1914.

Pursuant to authority conferred by the act of October 1, 1890 (26 Stat., 650), setting aside certain lands in the State of California as a public park, the following regulations governing the admission of automobiles into the Yosemite National Park are hereby established and made public:

1. Motor cycles are not permitted to enter the park.

2. Automobiles traveling within the metes and bounds of the Yosemite National Park will be required to secure a permit from the acting superintendent or his representative.

3. Applications for permit must show: (*a*) Name of owner, (*b*) license number of automobile, (*c*) name of driver, (*d*) number of passengers, and (*e*) be accompanied by a fee of $5 for a single round trip in and out of the park, payable as hereinafter indicated.

4. Tickets of passage must be obtained at Merced Grove of Big Trees, inbound.

5. Tickets of passage must be presented to the acting superintendent or his representative at the auto camp checking station, inbound. Upon departure from the camp site they will be returned to the chauffeur.

6. Every person presenting an automobile for admission to the park will be required to satisfy the guard issuing the ticket of passage that the brakes of his automobile are in first-class working order, and for this purpose all automobiles will be required effectually to block and skid the rear wheels with either foot or hand brake, or such other brakes as may be a part of the equipment of the automobile.

7. The fee for each automobile permit shall be $5, payable upon arrival at paying station.

8. Payment of fees must be made by cash or money order; checks will not be accepted.

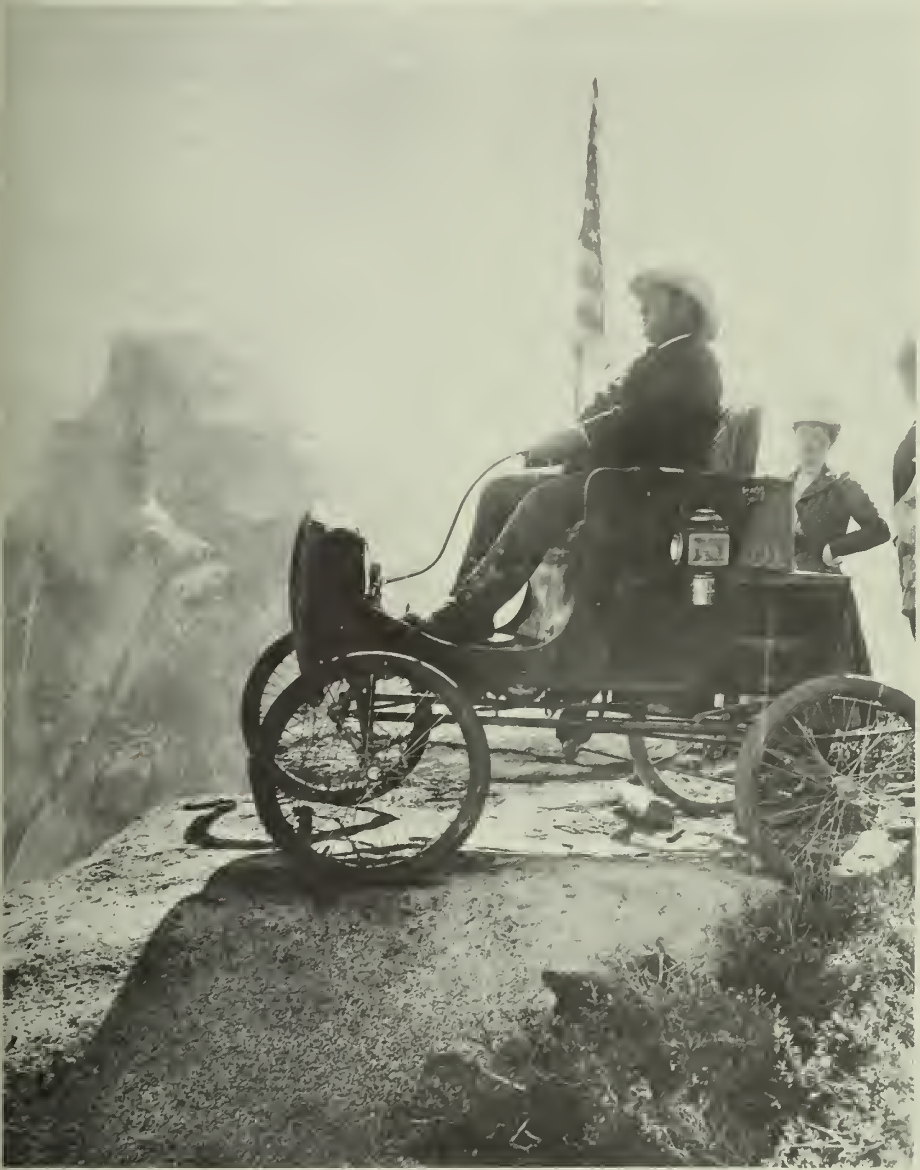
9. In case an automobile is compelled to leave the park before arriving at Yosemite, the fee will be collected at the nearest checking point en route outward.

10. No automobile shall take station in free automobile park without a permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative.

11. All tickets of passage and permits shall be surrendered at the Merced Grove Station upon departure.

12. Automobiles outward bound which have not a permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative will be charged $5, failure to possess permit being accepted as evidence that the fee has not been paid. This charge of $5 will be made at the first station at which the automobile appears. A receipt will be given for the amount paid, which will be surrendered at the Merced Grove Station, and will be accepted in lieu of the permit.

13. At the conclusion of each day, the guard at Merced Grove and paying station will report by phone the various machines by license number and name of owner or person responsible therefor which have cleared their station. Similar information of automobiles which have arrived and failed



Advance scout: The first "automobilist" to drive into Yosemite National Park, Oliver Lippincott, poses regally in his Locomobile on the tip of Glacier Point in June, 1900. The venturesome motorist later philosophised that "whatever the new type of conveyance, it cannot detract from the sublimity of the great valley or lessen the majesty of the eternal hills." Such lofty sentiments did not impress the federal authorities, who soon placed an official ban on motor cars that lasted until 1913. (Courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History and the Flying Spur Press Collections.)

to clear shall be made, stating reason for nonclearance.

14. Until further orders, automobiles will be permitted to enter and leave the Yosemite National Park only by way of the Coulterville and Big Oak Flat roads. Automobiles approaching the park by the Big Oak Flat Road will change direction to the west at Crane Flat and take the Coulterville Road.

15. Automobiles will enter the Yosemite Valley only by way of the Coulterville Road. They may, at their option, leave the Coulterville Road at Big Meadows (Meyers) and enter via El Portal and the Merced River gorge.

16. Automobiles leaving the park shall confine themselves to the roads authorized for entrance.

17. Automobiles are not permitted to use any roads in the park other than those specified, and those will be used for ingress and egress.

18. Automobiles entering or leaving via El Portal will check at that place.

19. Automobiles entering may leave the Merced Grove of Big Trees between the hours of 7 a. m. and 5 p. m. Automobiles arriving later than 5 p. m. at the Merced Grove of Big Trees will be denied entrance.

20. Automobiles entering between 3.30 p. m. and 5 p. m. may proceed to El Portal or other point on the road short of the Yosemite Valley or El Portal.

21. No automobile passing the Merced Grove of Big Trees after 3.30 p. m. shall enter the Yosemite Valley.

22. No inbound automobile shall leave El Portal and enter the park after 4.08 p. m.

23. No inbound automobile that does not reach the Cascade Station before 4.44 p. m. or the junction of the Wawona and El Portal roads before 5.01 p. m. shall proceed further. It will be authorized to return to El Portal.

24. No inbound automobile shall pass the paying station below Camp Ahwahnee later than 5.30 p. m.

25. Automobiles outbound may leave the garage or automobile camp site between the hours of 7.30 a. m. and 4 p. m.

26. An automobile party camping on the automobile site may run the machine to and from the garage for the purpose of restocking or repairing same between the hours of 7.30 a. m. and 5 p.m. During these runs or other demonstrations the muffler must invariably be closed. No noisy demonstrations shall take place, *in situ*, before 7.30 a. m. or after 5 p. m.

27. An outward bound automobile will make no halt between its starting point and the Paying Station except to pick up passengers or baggage. (See time allowance, paragraph 32.)

28. In the Yosemite Valley automobiles inbound shall cross the Merced River at the Pohono bridge and proceed via Camp Ahwahnee, Yosemite Village, Camp Curry, Stoneman bridge, and Kenneyville to the garage, or to the automobile camp site designated for automobiles in the immediate vicinity of the garage.

29. Automobile parties destined to Camp Lost Arrow shall pass through the garage site to their destination. The automobile shall then be returned to the garage.

30. Automobile parties destined to Camp Ahwahnee, Sentinel Hotel, Camp Curry, or Camp Lost Arrow will proceed directly to their destination after checking in, halting at no intermediate point.

31. Parties upon arrival at destina-

tion shall immediately vacate the automobile which will proceed without unnecessary delay to the garage.

32. Automobiles halting at the hotel or at hotel camps will be allowed only the necessary time for the purpose of letting off or taking on passengers or baggage, or both, not to exceed five minutes. Hotel and camp concessionaires will be held responsible that this regulation is observed.

33. An automobile party may go into camp, keeping their automobile with them at the site designated as an automobile camp, and nowhere else.

34. An automobile party to hold a camping site in the automobile camp must actually camp with their automobiles.

35. The automobile of a party having sleeping accommodations at a hotel or hotel camp, or elsewhere than in the automobile camp, shall be placed in the garage and nowhere else.

36. If an automobile, through accident or other cause, is unable to proceed to its destination within the allotted period of time, it may, if west of the Cascade Station and outbound, proceed at its own risk in accordance with the speed regulations. If east of the Cascade Station, it will park and remain parked pending any instructions from the acting superintendent. Unless the breakage is an unusual one and the case a special one the automobile shall remain where parked until the following morning.

37. The garage "tow" or "trouble car" will not be allowed to proceed east or west out of hours.

38. No automobile, unless broken down or parked in accordance with orders, shall be temporarily abandoned anywhere.

39. Muffler cut-outs must be effectually closed on the automobile while traveling in either direction on the floor of the valley, as well as between the Pohono bridge and the park boundary in the Merced River gorge.

40. Outbound automobiles taking the Coulterville Road at the "Old Blacksmith Shop" may open their mufflers on the Coulterville Road ascent.

41. No sirens or electric horns shall be blown where the mufflers may not be opened.

42. While the automobile is being vacated or emptied of its load the chauffeur or driver shall not leave his automobile.

43. No automobile shall be left at any time without a driver except at the garage or in the automobile camp. Chauffeurs, before leaving the seat, shall stop the engine.

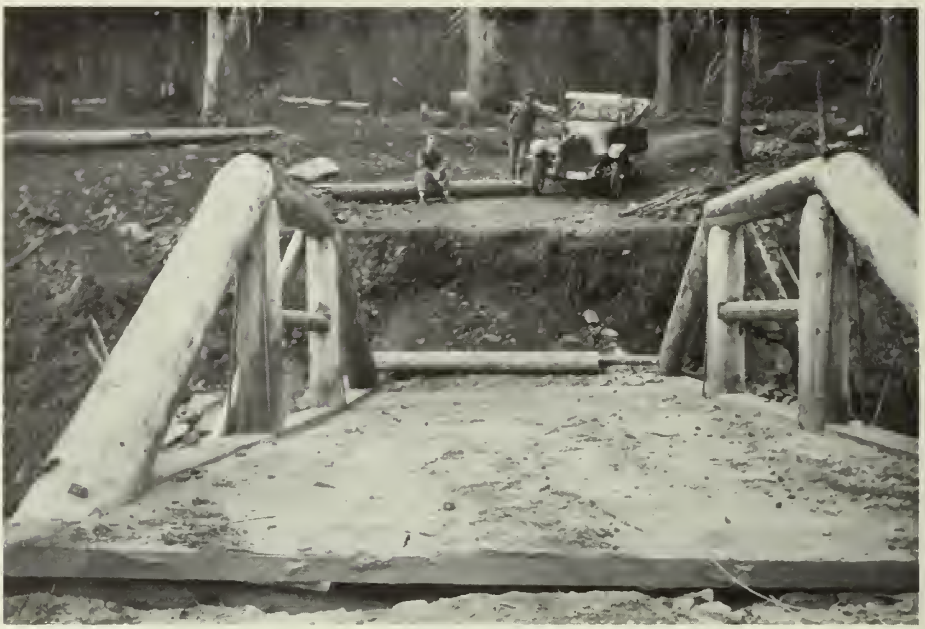
44. No person shall smoke while driving an automobile in the park.

45. The guard at Merced Grove will refuse admission to any automobile any occupant of which is under the influence of intoxicants.

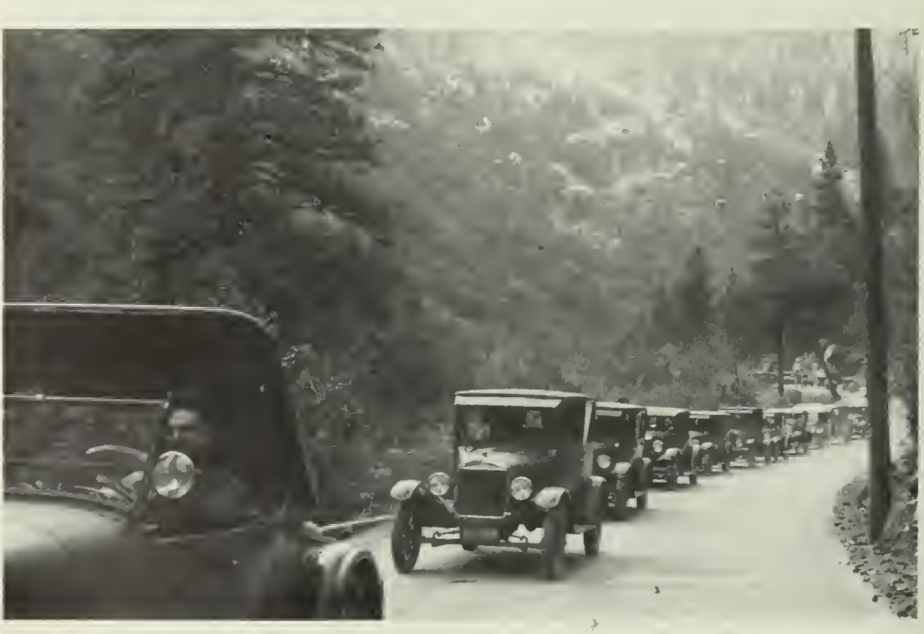
46. Speed will be limited to 6 miles per hour, except on straight stretches where approaching teams will be visible, when, if no teams are in sight, this speed may be increased to an approximate maximum speed of 10 miles per hour, at no time to be exceeded (except that on the steep descent from the high land to the road in the Merced River gorge the maximum speed rate, inbound, is 5 miles per hour, and outbound, 6 miles per hour.)

47. Time lost by a slow-down shall not subsequently be made up by exceeding the speed limit.

48. No automobile shall exceed the speed limit to overtake and pass another automobile.



By 1919, cars were roaming freely over what passed for roads. Here, two travelers take stock of a sagging bridge on the old Tioga Road. Undaunted, they jockeyed the Studebaker down the bank and roared across the bridge "at 45 miles per hour." (Courtesy of NPS Reference Library, Yosemite.)



By the late 1920's roads had been improved and the rush was under way. This long line of cars backed up at the Arch Rock entrance station on Lincoln's Birthday in 1927 was a portent of the crush to come. (Courtesy of the NPS Reference Library, Yosemite.)

49. When automobiles meet on a grade where it is impossible or dangerous to pass, the automobile on the uphill side will back up to a turnout.

50. Teams have the right of way and automobiles will be backed or otherwise handled as necessary so as to enable teams to pass with safety.

51. When teams, saddle horses, or pack trains approach, the automobile shall take position on the outer edge of the road, taking care that sufficient room is left on the inside for the animals or teams to pass.

52. Automobiles, when overtaking teams, saddle horses, or pack trains shall take the outer side (i.e., dangerous side) of the road.

53. When teams, saddle horses, or pack trains approach, automobiles shall stop and remain at rest until the former have passed, or until the drivers or riders are satisfied regarding the safety of their horses. If the approaching animals manifest signs of fear, the engine must be stopped.

54. In case of emergency due to large amount of traffic on the El Portal Road which may cause animal-drawn vehicles to use the road at the same time as automobiles, both classes of vehicles proceeding in the same direction shall proceed at the same rate of speed, viz, that of the animal-drawn vehicle, until a turnout is reached, when the automobile, with due notification to and by agreement with the driver of the animal-drawn vehicle that passing is safe, may pass, taking the outside of the road.

55. Signal with horn shall be given at or near every turn in the road to announce to drivers of approaching teams the proximity of an automobile.

56. Parties possessing permits will not be allowed to do a commercial or transportation business in the park without special license from the Secretary of the Interior.

57. No garage concessionaire will admit automobiles except on presentation of permit properly signed by the acting superintendent or his representative.

58. A failure to check at any station will result in ejection from the park.

59. Failure to surrender ticket of passage at auto camp checking station inbound, at Merced Grove outbound, or to exhibit it at any intermediate point when requested, will be considered a violation of the rules and subject the offender to the penalties.

60. Ejectment from any point of the park will not work as a remission of fee, which must be paid in full, $5, at the nearest station outward.

61. If an outward-bound automobile fails to surrender its ticket of passage and permit to the guard at the Merced Grove Station, a record of number, chauffeur, owner, or party responsible for the automobile will be taken, and the penalties for the violation of the rules and regulations of the park will thereafter attach to all. It will likewise be charged $5 for each document lost.

62. Owners of automobiles which, for any reason, fail after entering the park to proceed as far as the paying station in Yosemite Valley, may secure a permit by remitting by mail to the acting superintendent a postal money order for $5, payable to the order of the Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

63. Violation of any of the foregoing rules or general regulations for the government of the park will cause revocation of permit, and in addition to the penalties hereinbefore indicated

will subject the owner of the automobile to any damages occasioned thereby, ejectment from the reservation, and be cause for refusal to issue new permit to the owner without prior sanction in writing from the Secretary of the Interior.

64. An automobilist detected in violating any of these rules and regulations shall immediately park his automobile. The facts of the case will be at once reported by the guard to the acting superintendent for his consideration.

65. Automobiles shall not enter the Valley via the Coulterville Road and proceed to El Portal via the Merced River Gorge Road, except in compliance with regulation No. 23.

Lewis C. Laylin,
Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

NOTES

1. John Muir. *The Mountains of California.* Natural History Association, Anchor Books, Doubleday, New York, 1962, page xi.

2. Reproduced from an original copy of the regulations in the National Park Service Reference Library, Yosemite.

3. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *Master Plan Development Proposal for Yosemite National Park,* Yosemite, July 1971.

Walton Bean

Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley, and a specialist in California history; author of Boss Ruef's San Francisco *and* California, An Interpretive History. *This paper was read before the 1970 conference of the Institute of American History at Stanford University, celebrating 200 years of California history.*

Ideas of Reform in California

"REFORMERS" MAY BE DEFINED as those who believe that certain prevailing conditions of politics and society must be drastically improved. This definition, however, includes not only "progressives" and "liberals," but also many "conservatives" and many "radicals." This is not merely a semantic question. It also reflects some of the most troublesome problems in the history of reform, in America in general and California in particular. The ideology of the principal reform programs in the California politics of the 1850s so resembles the political philosophy of Governor Ronald Reagan that after the passage of eleven decades the history of ideas of reform in California appears more cyclical than evolutionary. And the role of radicalism in the history of reform has been highly important mainly because it has been repeatedly and almost cyclically disastrous.

In Winfield J. Davis's *History of Political Conventions in California, 1849-1892*, the word "reform" first appears in the resolutions of the Whig state convention of 1853: "Whereas the dominant party of the state [the Democrats] have, by mismanagement and corruption, bankrupted the treasury, and loaded us with a debt too grievous to be borne," the Whigs demanded "a united concert of action to reform the state, on the part of all those who believe with us that public plunder is the object of the dominant party."[1] Whig platforms of the early 'fifties repeatedly denounced "onerous and oppressive taxation," and favored "the strictest economy in the administration of the state and federal government."[2] Political reformers of that period assumed that large government expenditures must be mainly the result of corruption. Good government and honest government were synonymous with parsimonious government.

The Whig party of California virtually disbanded in 1855, and the American or Know-Nothing party took its place. In the platform adopted at its state convention on September 2, 1856, the American party, "being essentially a reform party," pledged itself to "the great and essential reform movements of the day." These, along with the Pacific railroad, were "the purity of the ballot box and the elevation of none but pure men to positions as local officers."[3]

This language reflected the recent triumph of the Committee of Vigilance in San Francisco, a movement which Theodore H. Hittell described as "the most remarkable municipal reform ever known in the country,"[4] and which Josiah Royce defined and praised as "a Business Man's Revolution."[5] The motivations of vigilantism were complex, and some of the vigilante leaders who were most conscious of their righteous indignation as public-spirited citizens were probably finding subconscious satisfaction in sadistic ritual murder. But in another important aspect the leaders of the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1856 may be regarded as a self-appointed task force of leading businessmen with the mission of rendering the city government pure, efficient, and economical.

A week before the disbandment of the Vigilance Committee with a grand parade on August 18, its leaders had organized the People's Reform party. This was done at a mass meeting in response to a call that had been circulated for several days "among the businessmen of the city" and signed by "about three hundred first-class citizens."[6] The name of the new organization was soon shortened to the People's party. Its ticket received the endorsement of the Republican party, also recently formed. On November 4, 1856, in the first election under the consolidation act passed by the state legislature in April, the People's party won every office in the city-and-county of San Francisco. Ex-vigilantes watched the polling places and supervised the counting of the ballots.

For ten years, from the election of 1856 through that of 1865, the People's party governed California's metropolis. In the words of Hittell, its regime was one of "public order, decency, and economy . . . , bringing public business down to something like honest and private business principles and management."[7] City expenditures in 1857 were one-seventh of what they had been in 1855. Retrenchment was severe. For several months some of the public schools were closed and gas for lighting the streets was sharply curtailed. This, it was explained, was because the previous office holders had looted the treasury.

During the years of rule by the People's party many San Franciscans boasted that theirs was the best-governed city in the United States, and it would be hard to deny that the city was more honestly governed than before, or for several decades afterward. Had the vigilance movement confined itself to taking control of the city government through the legal political process, without the previous resort to illegal force, it would have a much more creditable place in history.

The chief reform movement of the early 'seventies, which won some brief and illusory success in the state elections of 1873, was called the Independent Taxpayers party. In 1875 the first plank in the platform of the Temperance Reform party was "economy in the administration of the government"—ahead of the planks denouncing the monopoly of lands by speculators, opposing subsidies to railroads, and favoring the eight-hour day and federal action against Chinese labor.[8] The resolution against the evils of intemperance was mild, calling only for a liquor license tax of $30 a month and a law against the sale of liquor in grocery stores. California was one of the states least receptive even to hints of prohibition, but the other planks were attractive enough to win a quarter of the total vote for the Temperance Reform candidate for governor, John Bidwell, who was also the first president of the California Grange.

In the last third of the nineteenth century the great corporation became associated in villainy with the corrupt politician. To some degree the onus shifted from corruption in the spending of public money to corruption in the spending of corporation money, on bribes or the effective equivalent of bribes. "The Railroad" was the principal offender in state politics, as were local public utility companies at the city level. Railroad control of the state government was not, of course, complete or successful in every instance; but in general it was extremely successful, and essentially corrupt. Moreover, one of the Southern Pacific's most important political techniques was its control of reform movements, as William F. Herrin once candidly remarked.[9] Because this tactic was successful for so long, Herrin assumed that he could use it indefinitely. Like the late Lucius Beebe, he met the challenge of the twentieth century by refusing to emerge from the nineteenth.

The general theme of early-twentieth-century progressivism, as Richard Hofstadter summarized it in *The Age of Reform*, was nostalgic and conservative. It was "the effort to restore a type of economic individualism and political democracy that was widely believed to have existed earlier in America and to have been destroyed by the great corporation and the corrupt political machine; and . . . to bring back a kind of morality and civic purity that was also believed to have been lost."[10] The leaders of the movement, in Hofstadter's view, were patrician reformers—urban upper-middle-class business and professional men who regarded themselves as an intellectual and moral elite, and who resented the loss of the status and political influence that men of their kind had once had. George E. Mowry reached similar conclusions in *The California Progressives*.[11]

Several later studies have challenged this interpretation, suggesting that the leadership of progressivism was much more diverse than this or any other single description can encompass.[12] Consider, for example, the diversity among California's "millionaire progressives," William Kent, Rudolph Spreckels, James D. Phelan, Edwin T. Earl. Gaylord Wilshire was a "millionaire socialist," though better described as reportedly an ex-millionaire.

Status, it would appear, is highly questionable as a factor determining whether men became progressives or stand-patters. Mowry's profile of the social origins and status of the California progressive would fit many of the conservative politicians also. Here, in Mowry's defense, it should be noted that his biographical studies did not include many California conservatives, partly because they had tended to keep their papers from the historian, and a historian is no better than his sources.

Studies in the politics of states as diverse as Massachusetts, New York, and Wisconsin[13] have pointed out that labor produced an important contingent of American progressive leadership. There were virtually no labor leaders in Mowry's profile; but it should be recalled that Mowry's "California Progressives" were Republican progressives, because Republican rather than Democratic reformers won the election of 1910. Labor's partisan allegiance in California was normally Democratic; and another factor in the 1910 election was that 25 percent of the votes in the working class districts of San Francisco went to the Socialist candidate for governor, J. Stitt Wilson of Berkeley.[14] In 1910 the Socialists won the highest percentage of votes they ever received in California, and the nearly 13 percent of the statewide vote that went to Stitt Wilson probably had the effect of electing Hiram Johnson over the Democratic reform candidate Theodore Bell. This was an illustration of one of the most important factors in the history of California politics: the role of radicalism in the history of proposals for reform, and the effects of radicalism on the political fortunes of reform movements.

"Radical," as Daniel Boorstin has recently reminded us,[15] comes from the Latin *radix*, or root, and thus radicals are those who believe in reforms that go to the root of the matter. In American politics since the end of reconstruction after the Civil War, "radicalism" has involved mainly the relations between capitalism and democracy, and we can define this radicalism as mainly the various degrees and kinds of socialism. Chester Rowell and Meyer Lissner were among the California progressives who came to believe, for a time, that there was no sharp demarcation between progressivism and socialism.[16]

Progressivism derived some of its ideas from populism, and populism in California was particularly indebted to an American brand of socialism. In the spring of 1889, the year after the publication of Edward Bellamy's utopian romance, *Looking Backward*, Burnette Haskell organized a Bellamyite Nationalist club in San Francisco. Haskell's original interest in promoting Nationalism was to gain new supporters for his tottering Kaweah colony, but he also proposed to turn San Francisco into a Nationalist city beginning with public ownership of utilities. The movement spread rapidly, and within a few months there were more Nationalist clubs in California, particularly in southern California, than in any other part of the country. Nationalism quickly shattered into factions, partly because Bellamy's evolutionary, nonviolent Christian socialism was too mild for half of the members and too radical for the other half. But the movement gained thousands of converts, of whom the more radical soon became socialists and the more moderate became the left wing of the Populist party when it was organized in California in 1891.[17]

In the split between reformers and revolutionists, which sundered the Nationalist movement and seriously weakened not only populism but also socialism and progressivism, the most emotional and divisive factor was the question of violence. Burnette Haskell had organized his anarchist International Workmen's Association in San Francisco in 1882. Though not affiliated with the International Working People's Association or "Black International," a branch of anarchism organized in London a year earlier, Haskell's group was patterned after it, and followed its policy of endorsing "propaganda by the deed," which seemed to mean bombs and assassinations.[18] Haskell's advocacy of violence was all rhetoric and no action, but it blighted his attempts to gain an effective following.

The Industrial Workers of the World, organized in Chicago in 1905, advocated the "abolition of the wage system" and of capitalism in general, by "any and all tactics that will get the results sought." This language, with its implied threat of bloody violence, inflamed public opinion against the I.W.W. even though more violence was used against its members than they ever used themselves. They advocated sabotage, though the extent to which they practiced it was greatly exaggerated in hysterical editorials. As Upton Sinclair observed, they "were said to drive copper nails into fruit trees. I made inquiries among arboriculturists, but could not find a single one who see what harm copper nails could do in a fruit tree." At the trial of the I.W.W. leaders in Chicago in 1918, Bill Haywood claimed that sabotage meant slowing down on the job, not the destruction of property. But the trial resulted in long prison sentences that reflected popular alarm. The Wobblies had a genius for antagonizing the general public; it was widely asserted that I.W.W. meant "I trouble you, trouble you."[19]

The moderate socialists, unlike the I.W.W., favored cooperation with the craft unions. The Socialist party was founded, at the turn of the century, largely because the older Socialist Labor party under Daniel De Leon had refused to cooperate with the A.F. of L. and had tried to form revolutionist unions in competition with it. In California such moderate Socialist leaders as Job Harriman and J. Stitt Wilson believed in revolution only through the ballot box. When Stitt Wilson ran for governor in 1910 he began his campaign tour in a car painted red, but he soon decided to add stripes of white and blue, a concession that immensely disgusted the left-wingers.[20] Wilson was elected mayor of Berkeley in 1911, though without a majority in the city council; and Harriman would probably have been elected mayor of Los Angeles in the same year if the McNamara brothers had not confessed their responsibility for the bombing of the Los Angeles *Times.*

The troubled relations between reform and radicalism are well exemplified in the relations between Upton Sinclair and Jack London, and in their careers and ideas. To Sinclair, socialism was merely modern democracy, and he was perennially and incurably optimistic about the possibilities of achieving it. In 1907, for example, he published a book called *The Industrial Republic: a Study of America Ten Years Hence*, in which William Randolph Hearst, as a progressive Democrat, was elected President in 1912 and ended a great financial panic by peacefully leading the United States into socialism through federal ownership of the trusts. (Sinclair remarked in his autobiography that he had never reprinted *The Industrial Republic.*) Jack London's socialist ideas were much less optimistic and much more radical than Sinclair's. Both were major figures in the popularization of socialist thought. Not only the novels but also the radical tracts of both Sinclair and London were more widely read throughout the world than the writings of Henry George or Edward Bellamy.

Jack London was born, albeit illegitimately, in San Francisco in 1876. Upton Sinclair, born two years later in Baltimore, came to California for his health in 1915 at the age of 37. He lived there 43 years, until his death at 90, which suggests that the California environment once had health-giving qualities. Jack London died in 1916, at 40, a hopeless alcoholic. Upton Sinclair was a life-long teetotaler.

Though the Sinclairs came from a long line of British and American naval officers, Upton's father had been declassed to the level of a traveling salesman. He was a periodic drunkard, and various relatives had to help with the care of his son. As Upton Sinclair himself once perceptively remarked, the deepest and strongest of the forces that would ultimately make him a socialist was "the psychology of a poor relation." As a child he had been made to feel rejected and patronized at the same time. It gave him a sympathy with all the despised and oppressed and unfortunate people of the world, and it also gave him an urge to change and overthrow whatever prevailing system of things it was that could be blamed for the existence of such humiliating human suffering. He was one of the many radicals who have become so because of their own peculiarly personal miseries, projected outward upon the problems of society at large.[21] Jack London was another, though he lacked Sinclair's ability to understand his own inner feelings and motives and learn to live with them.

In 1905 Sinclair founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, because, he said, he had spent five years at the City College of New York and four years of graduate work at Columbia without being informed that there was such a thing as a socialist movement, and he felt that this state of affairs in American colleges should be remedied. Sinclair conceived the Intercollegiate Socialist Society as an educational organization advocating socialism through the democratic process alone. But the organization received its widest publicity when it sponsored a lecture tour by Jack London, who shocked audiences of students at Harvard and Yale and petrified an audience of wealthy people in New York City with flamboyant demands for "Revolution." A *New York Times* editorial[22] complained that "Mr. Jack London's socialism is bloody war. . . . He says so. It is destructive socialism. He glories in it." Sinclair wrote a letter to the *Times*, claiming that London's meaning had been distorted and that when he had spoken of "the blood-red banner of revolution" he had meant it "as a symbol of the brotherhood of Man, and not of War and Destruction."[23]

Sinclair was disposed to defend Jack London at every turn, and to gloss over the great differences in their ideas. In the previous year, after a series of publishers had rejected his manuscript of Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and when it was being serialized in the socialist *Appeal to Reason*, London wrote a glowing review describing it as "the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of wage slavery" and calling on the readers of the *Appeal* to send in advance orders so that it could be published as a book. Thousands of orders came in. Thus it was London who had launched Sinclair into his first major success as a writer, and Sinclair was eternally grateful.[24]

London did not share Sinclair's faith that socialism could be achieved without violence, because London believed that if socialism ever achieved victory at the ballot box the capitalists would use organized violence to prevent that victory. This was the message of *The Iron Heel* (1907), London's remarkable prediction of the rise of fascism. Many moderate socialists criticized this novel for its scenes of bloody massacre, in which mobs of workers fell in heaps before the machine guns of "the Oligarchs." The young Fabian John Spargo, for example, complained that the novel would "repel many whose addition to our forces is sorely needed; . . . it tends to weaken the socialist movement by discrediting the ballot and to encourage the chimerical and reactionary notion of physical force, so alluring to a certain type of mind."[25]

London's socialism was full of extreme contradictions. One of them was a contempt, quite apparent in *The Iron Heel*, for the enslaved masses whose cause he espoused, and with whom he had suffered as a child and a young man. Nietzsche and Marx were strangely intertwined in his thought and feelings and in his personal life. He never reconciled this inner conflict, and as Max Lerner remarked in his introduction to a new edition of *The Iron Heel*, "I think he died of it."[26] In London's most successful book, *The Call of the Wild* (1903), the rise of a dog to leadership of a wolf pack in the Klondike was clearly an allegory of the superman; yet London was entirely unaware of this while he was writing the novel, and he became only partially aware of it after reviewers pointed it out and he reread his own book. According to his daughter Joan, who knew him in some respects better than he knew himself, the long-coveted personal success that the novel brought him destroyed any curiosity he may have felt about his own motives and perspectives.[27] He rationalized his surrender to the urge for individual success, as his friend Anna Strunsky sadly observed, by saying that he needed to beat the capitalists at their own game in order to show them that a socialist could achieve as much as any of them.[28]

Interrelated with London's admiration for the superman was his belief in the master race. He identified himself with both. As a war correspondent for the Hearst newspapers he expressed his horror that "a yellow, inferior race" like the Japanese had defeated, captured and humiliated Russian soldiers with "eyes bluer than mine" and "skin as white." When a fellow-socialist chided him for such racist sentiments at a party meeting in Oakland, London burst out, "What the Devil! I am first of all a white man, and only then a Socialist." He even argued that socialism was "devised for the happiness of certain kind of races."[29] Most American socialists probably shared this opinion. Upton Sinclair wrote cautiously that "I can understand both sides in the racial problem."[30] He was a southerner by birth and youth in Maryland, and his second wife was a Mississippian, the daughter of a judge who was also a cotton planter. Racism, unfortunately, has been as deep and pervasive in the history of California as in that of any state outside the South, though orientals were the main objects of overt racial hostility before the great Negro migration to California during World War II years. Racist laws were often advocated as measures of social reform, with the nearly unanimous support of all-white labor unions. The intense emotion of racial hostility may have been the greatest single reason that craft unions became more powerful in San Francisco than in any other American city at the turn of the century. The vast majority of California progressives of all parties also believed in white supremacy. This was clear in the debates in the legislature on the alien land law. In the debates on the eight-hour day for women in 1911, advocates of the measure argued that the alternative was "race suicide" because women of lower races could work a longer day and still become mothers, but white women could not. "The preservation of the motherhood of the race," said Chester Rowell's Fresno *Republican*, "is more important than the protection of the individual woman's liberty of contract."[31]

The years during and after World War I were disastrous both for the moderate socialists and for the liberal progressives. In 1919 the left wing Socialists, encouraged by the Bolshevik Revolution, split off to form the Communist Labor party, which later merged with the Communist party.[32] Majority public opinion strongly favored the new state laws that branded the I.W.W. as "criminal syndicalism," and the trials that sent many of its members to long terms in prison simply on the evidence that they were members. The most recent history of the I.W.W. argues that its tactics strengthened the cause of organized labor by frightening employers into encouraging the development of non-revolutionary unions.[33] Actually the I.W.W. frightened the majority of the public into supporting new campaigns for the open shop. Unions were badly weakened even in San Francisco, where the 1920's were a heyday of company unionism and "welfare capitalism."

Conservative progressives in the 'twenties called for "business efficiency" and "business integrity" as the most important methods of reforming government. State Controller John S. Chambers told the State Association of County Assessors in 1920 that "the taxpayers themselves constitute a very *unfortunate class*," and that government must "give profound thought to their *welfare*."[34]

Governor Friend W. Richardson called for budget slashes in language reminiscent of the People's Reform party. Governor C. C. Young also learned the value of applying the vocabulary of business to politics, though by doing so he managed to obtain a few pieces of progressive social legislation, including the law of 1927 establishing the first mandatory state old age pension system in the country. Moral progressives, in the meantime, were defending prohibition as the surest method of social reform.[35]

The great depression so shattered public confidence in the Republican philosophy of business leadership that the failure of the New Deal to produce a Democratic governor of California in 1934 is nearly incredible. Almost any New Deal Democrat could have defeated Frank F. Merriam; but Upton Sinclair's belief that he could use New Deal democracy as a vehicle for socialism proved disastrously wrong.

When he decided to run as a Democrat instead of a Socialist, Sinclair had not supposed that he could possibly win the Democratic nomination, and he was "astonished by the tidal wave that came roaring in and gathered me up."[36] The menace of utter destitution had radicalized hundreds of thousands of registered Democrats. President Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to persuade J.F.T. O'Connor, a Los Angeles law partner of Senator William G. McAdoo, to leave the federal office of comptroller of the currency and run for the nomination against Sinclair, but O'Connor refused on the ground that he would have no chance to stop him in the primary. George Creel unwisely consented to try, and failed miserably. "The worst of it was," Creel complained, "that I could not attack Sinclair's sincerity. . . . Starry-eyed and ecstatic, he believed as implicitly in his nostrums as Peter the Hermit in the validity of the Children's Crusade."[37]

After his victory in the Democratic primary Sinclair came to believe that he would actually come to power, and this delusion deprived him of his earlier faculties of self-analysis and self-criticism. He convinced himself that massive plans of "production for use, not for profit," which he had long advocated as a socialist, could work within the capitalist system—that capitalists would buy California state bonds to finance the public enterprises that would put them out of business. He was sure that both Roosevelt and Creel would ultimately endorse his candidacy. After Sinclair had reneged on a tentative agreement to tone down the socialism in EPIC campaign literature in return for Creel's support, Creel wrote to him: "I do not question your honesty, but you have the most amazing faculty of making yourself believe what you want to believe." As Creel lamented, he "was now a man without a vote, for between the epilepsy of Sinclair and the catalepsy of Merriam there was no choice."[38]

Creel, like Senator Hiram Johnson, became increasingly alienated from the New Deal in the second half of the 1930's, and broke completely with Franklin Roosevelt over the issue of a third term. A remarkable number of old progressives turned against the New Deal, many because they regarded themselves as devoted to clear, consistent, and logical ideas, and were offended by the freewheeling opportunism of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins.[39] "Comparison between the progressive movement of other years and the so-called 'liberal' movement of today," wrote Creel, "shows how far we have fallen from the heights. . . . Progressivism preached . . . a love of country and pride in our free institutions," while "present day 'liberalism' . . . is anti-American" and "stands for the obliteration of individualism at the hands of an all-powerful state. . . . 'Liberals' sneer at patriotism as old-fashioned and talk of 'revolution' as calmly as though they were ordering a sundae." These words appeared in an autobiography called *Rebel at Large;* but Creel did not regard that as inconsistent. Although his whole life, as he saw it, had been "devoted to criticism of the barnacled faults of the American system," he had "never once . . . doubted the wisdom and rightness of the system itself."[40]

Upton Sinclair was a completely well-meaning and in many ways an admirable man, but the damage he did to the Democratic party and to the New Deal liberalism in California was enormous and its after-effects were apparent for decades. One result was the long era of Republicans Earl Warren and Goodwin J. Knight, and their success in winning the votes of Democrats with a revival of the Hiram Johnson tradition of so-called "nonpartisanship." Many of Governor Warren's proposals in the fields of health, welfare, and labor were attacked and defeated on the ground that they were socialistic. Irritated by these attacks, Warren struggled to persuade Republicans that social progress was the creed of Lincoln, and that those who confused social progress with socialism should remember Lincoln's remark about the differences between a horse chestnut and chestnut horse.[41]

The right-wing radicalism of William F. Knowland's assault on organized labor made possible the election of liberal Democrat Edmund G. Brown in 1958. The right-wing extremism of the John Birch Society was a monkey that Richard Nixon tried and failed to shake off the elephant's back in 1962.

But the revival of left-wing extremism was a major factor in the defeat of Brown and the election of Ronald Reagan in 1966.

The New Left of the 1960's was not as new as is commonly supposed, or as new as many of its own followers supposed. The Students for a Democratic Society, for example, were directly descended from the Intercollegiate Socialist Society which Upton Sinclair had founded in 1905. That organization was broadened in 1921, renamed the League for Industrial Democracy, and opened to non-collegians, with a Student League for Industrial Democracy as a subsidiary. In 1935, against the advice of the parent organization, the Student L.I.D. broke away, gave up its identity, and merged into the American Student Union sponsored by the Communist "popular front" movement. In 1947, disillusioned by Communist tactics, the young socialists re-established the youth arm of the League for Industrial Democracy under a new constitution that condemned all forms of totalitarianism.[42] But in the early 1960's the youth section, now called Students for a Democratic Society, again rebelled against the parent League which resisted their desire to engage in militant activism.[43] Once again there was a generation gap between younger and older American socialists. The young militants, who did not know their history, were doomed to repeat it.

What was relatively new about the young radicals of the New Left in the early 1960's was their fascination with the tactics of "civil disobedience" in a form that Henry David Thoreau would never have recognized. Thoreau had demanded to be put in jail. The I.W.W.s had deliberately filled the jails in their fights for free speech. Mahatma Ghandi and Martin Luther King expected to be imprisoned if they broke the law. But the New Left student radicals, in the first flush of their revolutionary dawn, believed that they could avoid imprisonment or any other form of punishment. The tactics they borrowed from the Negro civil rights movement made them feel both invincible and invulnerable, and this intoxicated them with a delusory sense of power. After the Sproul Hall sit-in at the University of California, Berkeley of December 1964, however, the courts ruled that going limp was merely a form of resisting arrest. The sense of newness and magic soon went out of student radicalism, and a sense of frustration and desperation took its place. In the tactics of confrontation and disruption the idea of non-violence was soon lost, and a drift toward violence and vandalism set in. "The movement" became a communal attempt to escape from reality. Some of this new lost generation found escape in revolutionist fantasies, others in drugs. Some found escape in SDS, some in LSD, many in both. It was a tragedy, not only for the young people themselves but also for a society that cried out for improvement and badly needed the freshness of youthful idealism.

Expert advisers of Ronald Reagan's campaign for governor in 1966 reported that the strongest single emotion of California voters was their hostility toward the student disorders at Berkeley, and that Reagan's audiences gave their loudest applause to his promises to deal firmly with campus disrupters.[44] This was significantly interrelated with the growing public resentment against high taxes. Public money was being used to support universities and colleges for the education of those who were trying to shut them down —to bring them, in the words of Mario Savio, "to a grinding halt." Black rioters in the ghetto of Watts reinforced white majority resistance to residential integration. Young white student rioters on the campuses reinforced the growing resistance to taxation, and provided a new excuse for it. Reagan was the political beneficiary.

Ronald Reagan considered himself a political and moral reformer, though he did not find it convenient to use the word. His ideas of public finance sounded remarkably like those of the People's Reform party of the 1850s, or of Governor Friend W. Richardson in the 1920s. He described his typical constituent as "the forgotten man . . . the man in the suburbs working 60 hours a week to support his family and being heavily taxed for someone else." "The Forgotten Man" was originally the title of a lecture by William Graham Sumner in 1883, when Sumner used the phrase to describe "the self-supporting and self-respecting person who has to bear the cost of all the political bungling and social quackery."[45] Reagan summed up his political ideal as "the Creative Society." The phrase was generously donated by the Reverend Dr. W. Stuart McBirnie, a fundamentalist and ultraconservative radio preacher in Glendale; and the ideas resembled the rugged individualism of Herbert Hoover.[46] But Reagan's Creative Society after all, was not the only American political reform movement to have strongly nostalgic and conservative qualities. So did much of the progressive movement. And Richard Nixon in his first year in the presidency talked more about reform than any Republican president since Theodore Roosevelt.

Right-wing extremism has often discredited conservatism. But much more often and much more clearly, left-wing extremism has ruined the fortunes of liberal reform, by alarming and alienating the mass of the voters and throwing them into the arms of the conservative "reformers." Indeed this may be the clearest single lesson that emerges from the history of ideas of reform in California.

NOTES

1. Winfield J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California, 1848-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), 27.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 14. These particular phrases are from the Whig platform of 1851.

3. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

4. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California,* III (San Francisco, 1898), 649.

5. Josiah Royce, *California, from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco; a Study of American Character* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1886), 440.

6. Hittell, III, 637.

7. *Ibid.*, 664.

8. Davis, 354.

9. Franklin Hichborn, *Story of the Session of the California Legislature of 1921*, (San Francisco, 1922), 9.

10. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform; from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York, 1955), 5-6. See also Chapter IV, "The Status Revolution and Progressive Leaders."

11. George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951), Chapter IV, "What Manner of Men: The Progressive Mind."

12. Several of these studies are listed in Spencer C. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons; Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 227, n. 21.

13. J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Massachusetts People and Politics* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1959), and the same writer's *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York, 1968). On Wisconsin, David P. Thelen, "Social Tensions and the Origins of Progressivism," *Journal of American History*, LVI (September 1969), 323-341.

14. Alexander P. Saxton, "San Francisco Labor and the Populist and Progressive Insurgencies," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIV (November 1965), 432. See also Miles C. Everett, "Chester Harvey Rowell, Pragmatic Humanist and California Progressive" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1966), 381-382, and n. 38.

15. Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Decline of Radicalism; Reflections on America Today* (New York, 1969), 122.

16. Mowry, 297; Meyer Lissner to Will H. Hays, August 19, 1918, quoted in Albert H. Clodius, "The Quest for Good Government in Los Angeles, 1890-1910" (Ph.D. thesis, Claremont Graduate School, 1953), 511.

17. Donald E. Walters, "Populism in California, 1889-1900" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1952), Chapter II, "1889-90: 'Nationalism' in California."

18. Ralph E. Shaffer, "Radicalism in California, 1869-1929" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1962), 90-92, 127. Philip Taft and Philip Ross, "American Labor Violence," *in* Hugh D. Graham and Ted R. Gurr, editors, *The History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives; a Report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence* (New York, 1969), 283.

19. *Ibid.*, 285. Upton Sinclair, *The Autobiography of Upton Sinclair* (New York, 1962), 281-282.

20. Shaffer, "Radicalism" (Ph.D. thesis), 165-166.

21. Sinclair, 9. John Chamberlain, *Farewell to Reform; the Rise, Life and Decay of the Progressive Mind in America* (Chicago, 1965), 180.

22. *New York Times*, February 1, 1906.

23. Sinclair, 224, 259. Philip S. Foner, editor, *Jack London: American Rebel* (New York, 1947), 63-79.

24. Sinclair, 115. Foner, 80-83. *The Appeal to Reason*, November 8, 1905.

25. Quoted in Foner, 96.

26. Lerner, in Jack London, *The Iron Heel* (New York, 1957), xii.

27. Joan London, *Jack London and his Times;* an *Unconventional Biography* (New York, 1939), 252-253.

28. Foner, 39-40.

29. Quoted in *ibid.*, 36.

30. Sinclair, 208.

31. *Fresno Republican*, February 27, 1911.

32. Ralph E. Shaffer, "Formation of the California Communist Labor Party," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVI (February 1967), 59-78.

33. Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago, 1969).

34. Quoted in Jackson K. Putnam, "The Influence of the Older Age Groups on California Politics, 1920-1940" (Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University, 1964), 95. Italics mine.

35. Jackson K. Putnam, "The Persistence of Progressivism in the 1920's: The Case of California," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXV (November 1966), 395-412.

36. Sinclair, 269.

37. George Creel, *Rebel at Large; Recollections of Fifty Crowded Years* (New York, 1947), 282-283.

38. *Ibid.*, 287-288.

39. Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform; the Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York, 1967).

40. Creel, 370-371, 375-376.

41. Richard B. Harvey, *Earl Warren, Governor of California* (Jericho, New York, 1969).

42. *The League for Industrial Democracy: Fifty Years of Democratic Education* (New York, 1955).

43. George Thayer, *The Farther Shores of Politics; the American Political Fringe Today* (New York, 1967), 408-409.

44. William Boyarsky, *The Rise of Ronald Reagan* (New York, 1968), 143.

45. Harris E. Starr, *William Graham Sumner* (New York, 1925), 287.

46. Boyarsky, 108-110. Ronald Reagan, *The Creative Society* (New York, 1968), a collection of speeches.

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The Struggle for the Australian Ballot in California

When Californians go to the polls this election year, their attention will focus mostly on foreign policy, economic, and ecological issues. In their preoccupation, they will probably take for granted the fact they are able to vote in secrecy, without fear of intimidation, and that their ballot will be honestly tabulated. However, this was not always the case. In the late nineteenth century, Californians, like other Americans, were increasingly distressed by the blatant fraud and corruption which characterized elections to public office. The buying and selling of votes, the tampering with election returns, and the bullying of voters was so rampant that the state legislature in 1891 was finally moved to completely revamp the voting process.

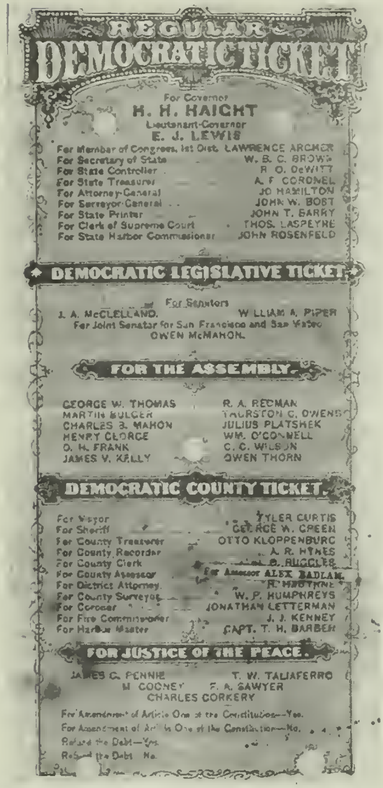
The result of the legislature's actions was the adoption of the so-called Australian ballot, a voting system pioneered in New South Wales, where officials were concerned with checking the spread to the colony of corrupt English election practices.[1] The Australian ballot system contained several important innovations. The ballot was printed by state or local government and distributed at the polls on election day by public officials. The names of all candidates of all the parties were printed on one "blanket" ballot which was marked in the privacy of an enclosed booth, thus assuring complete secrecy. Today, the paper ballots, ink pads and rubber stamps in many areas have given way to voting machines and computer punch cards. But the basic tenet of the Australian ballot system—the right of a voter to cast a free and secret ballot—still forms the foundation of the election system. The following is an account of the struggle to adopt the Australian ballot in California.

The California election system prior to 1891, was based on a series of state laws which permitted each party to print and distribute its own election tickets. The tickets were merely long, narrow slips of paper, headed by a vignette, on which were printed the names of a party's candidates for each office. They were given out to the faithful on election day by party ticket peddlers who stationed themselves on the streets and corners around the polls. This system was frequently abused. In some of the more partisan wards a voter could search blocks and blocks before finding a consentient ticket peddler. Even with ticket in hand the elector had to maintain his vigilance, for it was not uncommon for contending factions or parties to counterfeit their opponents' tickets, substituting one or two of their own for the names listed on the regular ticket. Under these circumstances, if the elector was not wary, he might then vote for a couple of opposition candidates, while under the impression he was casting a straight party ticket.

Small groups of political opportunists, called piece clubs, within and without the major parties generated other problems. The law usually allowed any group, no matter how small, to call itself a party, hold a nominating convention and print election tickets. Consequently, major party candidates were all too often contacted by individuals claiming to represent small parties, and informed they had received the group's endorsement. To facilitate the arrangement, the candidate was expected to make a campaign contribution. If he declined he was struck from the clubs' ticket and his name was that less widely circulated on election day. By refusing to cooperate, candidates faced the additional danger of having their campaigns disrupted by the scorned club members. In these instances the problem became one of extortion and blackmail. Commenting on this situation in 1877, the San Francisco *Bulletin* stated:

> Candidates are honored with more than a passing notice of their endorsement by way of polite words to the effect that 'You are hereby notified that you have been endorsed by the Whang Doodle Convention, your assessment is now due, amount to $_______,' . . . and again 'we have placed your name upon our ticket for the office of _______, and assess you $_______. We shall print 3,000,000 tickets, etc., etc. . . . Please arrange to pay before next Tuesday.' . . . A candidate for a prominent office has received notices of assessments from that number of conventions, for amounts of $500, $300, $200, $375, $200.[2]

The problem was not easy to solve. At many elections, particularly in a city, there were often legitimate splinter parties claiming small constituencies. Candidates naturally welcomed the opportunity to have their names appear on as many tickets as possible, but it was difficult to distinguish authentic parties from the piece clubs.[3] In San Francisco, Dennis Kearney's Workingmen's movement contributed to a confusing proliferation of municipal organizations which spawned such groups as the Citizens Independent Party, the Workingmen's Trade and Labor Party, the People's Reform and Anti-Coolie Party, and the Independent Democratic Liberal Republican Anti-Coolie Labor Reform Party. While there can be little doubt that this last organization was a piece club, it is entirely possible that some one of the others did represent a genuine special interest group. This increase in the number of election tickets was a major problem in the rational operation of the election process in a large city. In San Francisco in 1886,



REGULAR
DEMOCRATIC TICKET

For Governor
H. H. HAIGHT
Lieutenant-Governor
E. J. LEWIS

For Member of Congress, 1st Dist.	LAWRENCE ARCHER
For Secretary of State	W. B. C. BROWN
For State Controller	R. O. DeWITT
For State Treasurer	A. F. CORONEL
For Attorney-General	JO HAMILTON
For Surveyor-General	JOHN W. BOST
For State Printer	JOHN T. BARRY
For Clerk of Supreme Court	THOS. LASPEYRE
For State Harbor Commissioner	JOHN ROSENFELD

DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATIVE TICKET.

For Senators
J. A. McCLELLAND. W. LLIAM A. PIPER
For Joint Senator for San Francisco and San Mateo
OWEN McMAHON.

FOR THE ASSEMBLY.

GEORGE W. THOMAS	R. A. REDMAN
MARTIN BULGER	THURSTON C. OWENS
CHARLES B. MAHON	JULIUS PLATSHEK
HENRY GEORGE	WM. O'CONNELL
O. H. FRANK	C. C. WILSON
JAMES V. KELLY	OWEN THORN

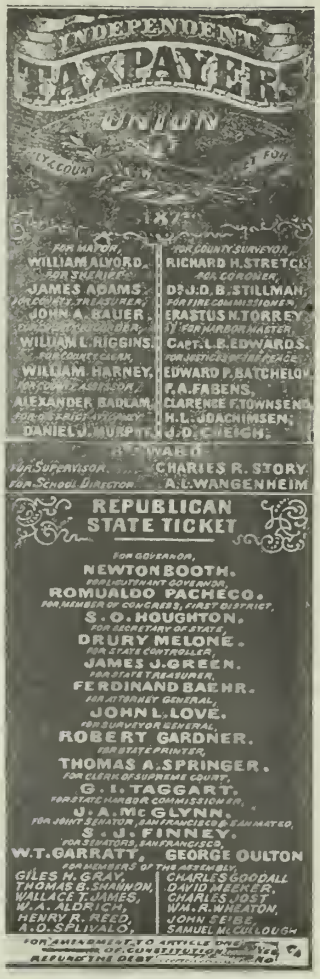
DEMOCRATIC COUNTY TICKET.

For Mayor	TYLER CURTIS
For Sheriff	GEORGE W. GREEN
For County Treasurer	OTTO KLOPPENBURG
For County Recorder	A. R. HYNES
For County Clerk	[illegible] RUGGLES
For County Assessor	For Assessor ALEX. BADLAM.
For District Attorney	[illegible]
For County Surveyor	W. P. HUMPHREYS
For Coroner	JONATHAN LETTERMAN
For Fire Commissioner	J. J. KENNEY
For Harbor Master	CAPT. T. H. BARBER

FOR JUSTICE OF THE PEACE.

JAMES C. PENNIE T. W. TALIAFERRO
M. COONEY F. A. SAWYER
CHARLES CORKERY

For Amendment of Article One of the Constitution—Yes.
For Amendment of Article One of the Constitution—No.
Refund the Debt—Yes.
Refund the Debt—No.



INDEPENDENT
TAXPAYERS
UNION
187

FOR MAYOR,	FOR COUNTY SURVEYOR,
WILLIAM ALVORD.	RICHARD H. STRETC
FOR SHERIFF,	FOR CORONER,
JAMES ADAMS.	DR. J. D. B. STILLMAN.
FOR COUNTY TREASURER,	FOR FIRE COMMISSIONER,
JOHN A. BAUER.	ERASTUS N. TORREY.
FOR COUNTY RECORDER,	FOR HARBOR MASTER,
WILLIAM L. HIGGINS.	CAPT. L. B. EDWARDS.
FOR COUNTY CLERK,	FOR JUSTICES OF THE PEACE,
WILLIAM HARNEY,	EDWARD P. BATCHELO
FOR COUNTY ASSESSOR,	F. A. FABENS,
ALEXANDER BADLAM.	CLARENCE F. TOWNSEN
FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY,	H. L. JOACHIMSEN;
DANIEL J. MURPHY.	J. D. [illegible]

[illegible] WARD

FOR SUPERVISOR.	CHARLES R. STORY.
FOR SCHOOL DIRECTOR.	A. L. WANGENHEIM

REPUBLICAN
STATE TICKET

FOR GOVERNOR,
NEWTON BOOTH.
FOR LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR,
ROMUALDO PACHECO.
FOR MEMBER OF CONGRESS, FIRST DISTRICT,
S. O. HOUGHTON.
FOR SECRETARY OF STATE,
DRURY MELONE.
FOR STATE CONTROLLER,
JAMES J. GREEN.
FOR STATE TREASURER,
FERDINAND BAEHR.
FOR ATTORNEY GENERAL,
JOHN L. LOVE.
FOR SURVEYOR GENERAL,
ROBERT GARDNER.
FOR STATE PRINTER,
THOMAS A. SPRINGER.
FOR CLERK OF SUPREME COURT,
G. I. TAGGART.
FOR STATE HARBOR COMMISSIONER,
J. A. McGLYNN.
FOR JOINT SENATOR, SAN FRANCISCO & SAN MATEO,
S. J. FINNEY.
FOR SENATORS, SAN FRANCISCO,
W. T. GARRATT, GEORGE OULTON
FOR MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY,

GILES H. GRAY,	CHARLES GOODALL
THOMAS B. SHANNON,	DAVID MEEKER,
WALLACE T. JAMES,	CHARLES JOST
W. A. ALDRICH,	WM. R. WHEATON,
HENRY R. REED,	JOHN SEIBE,
A. O. SPLIVALO,	SAMUEL McCULLOUGH

FOR AMENDMENT TO ARTICLE ONE OF CONSTITUTION [illegible] YES
REFUND THE DEBT [illegible] NO

When a voter of the 1870's dropped one of these distinctively printed "tape worm" ballots into the box, he left no doubts in anyone's mind as to his voting preferences. Party functionaries distributed these tickets to their followers and made sure the ballots were actually used. The Australian ballot displaced this corrupt system. (From CHS Library.)

there were reportedly in circulation six state tickets, and twenty-six county and municipal tickets.[4]

The party ticket became a legal ballot when deposited in the ballot box. Because the ballot box usually stood in the center of a public room, secret voting was difficult and manipulation relatively easy. The problem was compounded because the dominant political faction in a precinct, ward, or county, usually controlled the appointment of election officials. Therefore, even if the voting was conducted by the rules, it was uncertain whether the ballots would be honestly tabulated. Consequently, the men who made up a city's "respectable element," on occasion, felt obliged to shun the polls on voting day because they despaired of a fair count and were unwilling to risk involvement in the prevalent rowdyism of a hotly contested election. Workingmen, fearing intimidation by their employers, objected to the ease with which their ballots could be identified; while the Grangers and Alliancemen who would join the Populist Party likewise condemned a system they felt blocked free expression of the public will.

In 1883, Henry George, who in 1871 was one of the first men in America to urge use of the Australian ballot, charged that illicit election practices were so widespread that only rich or dishonest men were able to run for public office. In the next few years, in his newspaper the *Standard*, he continued to call the attention of his New York readers to the reform.[5] But to George the Australian ballot was a matter of secondary importance to the greater need for land reform. Consequently, it was not the single-taxer who bore the brunt of the Atlantic coast campaign for the reform ballot, but men of a more conservative cast. Using as their medium the pages of the New York genteel press, such gentlemen reformers as Allen Thorndike Rice, publisher of *The North American Review,* John H. Wigmore, a graduate of Harvard and the future dean of the Northwestern law school, and Richard Henry Dana, scion of an old New England family and Secretary of the Massachusetts Ballot Reform League, advised their readers on the need for the Australian ballot. To them it was a necessary adjunct to the recently passed civil service system and the best way to reduce "the alarming proportion of venal voters." Indeed, according to Rice, "the best men can be generally called into public service only by a purification of the present system. . . . The Australian [system] must form the basis of a radical remedy."[6]

The far west, however, was in a more formative social stage in the 1890's, and contained proportionately fewer members of the self-conscious, displaced elite of the east. In California, the influence of middle class reformers only was present in the early stages of the campaign for the Australian ballot. Later direction of the movement was dominated by a coalition made up of Grangers, Alliancemen, and members of the organized labor movement in San Francisco who were allied to the Democratic Party and influenced by the ideas of Henry George.[7]

Sometime in 1889, a leader of the California movement, James G. Maguire, met with Allen Thorndike Rice and was provided with much needed promotional literature. Maguire, a San Francisco judge and Democratic politician, who enjoyed considerable labor support, was a disciple and friend of Henry George. It is likely that George, a contributor to the *North American Review*, introduced Maguire to the New York publisher.[8]

Equally important to the early stages of the campaign were the contributions of two youthful proponents of good government, John Henry Wigmore and Franklin K. Lane. Born and raised in San Francisco, Wigmore attended Harvard University but returned briefly to the bay area in 1883. Together with Lane, a future Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of Woodrow Wilson, he organized the San Francisco Municipal Reform

League. The League was an unsuccessful attempt to challenge the domination of city Democratic boss Christopher Buckley.[9] Within a few years Wigmore was back in Massachusetts where, in January 1889, he published *The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries.* It contained a history of the Australian ballot and a summary of the ballot legislation in the various states. The book was popular enough to require a second edition ten months after its original printing. In this edition, the author added a guide to the formation of leagues "to enforce and facilitate the working of the reform law where enacted [as well as] to organize a movement for its enactment," and requested copies of all reform ballot bills introduced in the state legislatures, and "some account of the history of the agitation."[10]

In September 1888, Wigmore had sent Lane a draft of the Massachusetts reform ballot law. Early the following year Lane, who was then lobbying for the passage of a similar bill in California, reported to Wigmore that "your book has been of the greatest assistance to me. I tell you I felt quite proud in addressing the distinguished legislature to refer to 'my friend Wigmore's book.' "[11]

Franklin K. Lane's lobbying activities were part of the first concerted effort in California to secure the Australian ballot. In 1888 the San Francisco Federated Trades Council, a loosely organized body of fifty-four craft unions, was joined by the Young Men's Democratic League in a campaign to secure passage of a reform ballot bill.[12] The League, led by Lane, tried to pressure the legislature. Lane wrote Wigmore on January 29, 1889, that there would soon be held in San Francisco "one of those huge 'spontaneous' mass meetings (which require so much preparation) in support and endorsement of the bill." A month later, Maguire addressed the meeting of the joint legislative elections committee. On this occasion he spoke of the "floaters" of San Francisco who, after selling their votes, were driven to the polls like cattle. So pervasive was the bosses' power, Maguire felt that no one obtained a nomination without bowing to their will. "It is not a matter of Democracy and Republicanism, with the bosses, it is 'spoils.' Their motive is plunder and power."[13] The lobbying of Lane and the arguments of Maguire made their impression. On February 21, the Assembly's elections committee favorably reported a substitute for the four ballot reform bills under advisement.[14] The new bill progressed smoothly through the file and on March 1 was read a third time and passed fifty-five to seventeen. However, the next day the lower house voted to reconsider its action and two days later on March 4, refused passage by a vote of forty-seven to twenty-six.[15]

Although it is not clear exactly why the Assemblymen reversed themselves, the ultimate defeat of the reform in 1889 is best attributed to the public's unfamiliarity with the new voting system. Only ten states that year had

Australian ballot legislation on the books, and with the exception of Montana and Minnesota, none of these were west of the Mississippi. Moreover, neither party officially championed the reform, as evidenced by the nonpartisan Assembly vote. Thirty Democrats and twenty-one Republicans originally favored the bill, and twenty-one Republicans and twenty-six Democrats eventually combined to reject it.[16] The reformers were dismayed at their failure. Lane thought the Assemblymen were interested only in "boodle." The editors of the Sacramento *Record-Union* agreed, considering the bill to be entirely too much reform for one California legislature to handle.[17]

The defeat in the California Assembly was tempered by success the reform enjoyed in other parts of the country (in 1890, seven more states had adopted some type of Australian ballot legislation, bringing the total to seventeen), and did nothing to diminish the reformers' zeal. They would try again at the next legislative session and this time enjoy the additional support of the California Grange and the state Democratic Party. The first blow of the new campaign was struck in August 1890. A group of San Francisco Democrats, opposed to Christopher Buckley's control of the municipal party, attended the Democratic state convention in San Jose. By securing convention endorsement of the Australian ballot, the anti-Buckley faction hoped to gain the support of union members and others interested in the reform for its challenge to Buckley in the upcoming primary elections. The outcome was a plank in the Democratic platform pledging all party legislative nominees to work for the adoption of the Australian ballot.[18]

Several weeks later, at a regular Friday night meeting of the Federated Trades held on September 6, the Council's legislative committee reported that a committee of Grangers planned to visit the city to confer on ways of publicizing the reform. At the ensuing get together, the two organizations united in support of one measure and agreed for the Grange to canvass the countryside while the unionists campaigned in the cities.[19]

As the movement made headway, its partisan nature became apparent. Towards the end of September, a conference was held of representatives from the various organizations advocating the reform. Meeting ostensibly to prepare an address for delivery to the coming session of the legislature, the delegates used the occasion to blast the Republican Party. The GOP state convention was charged with having refused to endorse ballot reform, despite a special request by the Federated Trades. To make matters worse, Republicans in the national Congress had demonstrated their antipathy towards the reform by deleting the Australian ballot section from the Federal Elections Bill.[20] Even though the Republican county committee in San Francisco had declared its support, William Randolph Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner* editorialized, "Such action . . . cannot change the action of the Republican State Convention . . . because [it] would only secure a minority of the party. A party is only bound by the action of its State Convention—not individual pledges."[21]

On the first Monday in October two thousand proponents of the reform attended a rally in San Francisco's Metropolitan Hall sponsored by the Ballot Reform Club, the Single Tax Association, and the Federated Trades Council. Persons entering the building stopped at a clerk's table, received a sample ballot, and then marked it in one of a number of voting booths scattered about the room. They also received from members of the Young Men's Democratic League an illustrated description of the new system. Andrew Furuseth, head of the Seaman's Union and President of the Federated Trades, served as chairman, with the principal speakers being James Maguire and Thomas V. Cator, a leading Bellamy Nationalist and soon to be the most prominent Populist in the state.[22] Maguire spoke first. Claiming that ballot reform was the most important issue of the campaign, he maintained the Australian ballot would do away with the old system's most blatant injustices—surveillance of workers by their employers, bribery of voters, and high campaign expenses.

In his turn, Thomas V. Cator declared that local bosses had increased the number of precincts in San Francisco from 178 to 310 in an attempt to ward off reform. Since it took three men to properly supervise each polling place, any "independent" movement would have to muster 930 poll watchers to ensure a fair election. "Where are they to come from? Business men don't want to stand side by side with the swearing, trading, corrupt tools of the bosses. . . . We have got a chance to down the bosses with the Australian ballot system: let us take advantage of it."[23]

The publicity campaign was continued a week later by the San Francisco *Examiner*, which printed a five column feature on the reform. The article related the problems faced by a fictional character, John Smith, in running for public office. After leaving his party in disgust at the way the primary election was conducted, Smith joined the independent "Kickers Anti-Boss League." The League persuaded him to try for office on the Kickers' ticket, but then assessed him an amount greater than his anticipated salary in order to finance the printing and distribution of tickets and the hiring of poll watchers. On election day, Smith discovered the opposition had colonized three hundred men in his district and bought off his ticket peddlers. He lost the election by a margin of ten to one. The article concluded by suggesting that the remedy for these abuses lay in taking the election machinery out of private hands. The state should print and distribute tickets, regulate nominations, as well as supervise more closely the counting of ballots.[24]

Besides educating the public, the reformers pressured candidates of all parties to pledge support for the measure. In October, the secretary of the Federated Trades' legislative committee asked Republican gubernatorial candidate Henry Markham to make known his position on the question, stating that "it is our purpose to go into this campaign solely in the interests of the Ballot-Reform Law." In addition, the committee mailed pledge cards to all announced legislative candidates.[25]

The reformers' fundamental strategy of allying with the Democratic Party went awry, however, when at the November election the Democratic majorities in both branches of the legislature were swept away. The Twenty-ninth Session, convening in January, would contain twenty-eight Republicans and twelve Democrats in the Senate; and sixty Republicans, nineteen Democrats, and one American Party member in the Assembly. Nevertheless, by the middle of December, eschewing the position once held that a party is only bound by the action of its state convention, the *Examiner* claimed that twenty-two Republican legislators had pledged to support the Australian ballot. Adding these to the Democrats, there were, reportedly, thirty-three pledged votes in the Assembly, and seventeen in the Senate.[26]

On January 7, 1891, four ballot reform bills were introduced in the Assembly. Six days later, copies of three of them were also presented to the Senate. The bill sponsored by the Federated trades was drafted by James Maguire, after consultation with representatives from the Council and the California Grange. In a quest for bi-partisan support, the measure was introduced by Republican Eugene F. Bert in the Assembly and Democrat D. A. Ostrom in the Senate. The second bill was the work of the Democratic State Central Committee. Every Democratic lawmaker had earlier received a letter from the central committee's chairman, Russell J. Wilson, reminding them of their party's pledge to support the Australian ballot and warning that "certain bills and amendments will be offered with a view to nullify legislation on this subject."[27] Wilson was probably referring to the bill introduced by San Francisco Republican Henry C. Dibble. Dibble was an outspoken critic of the Australian ballot, and many considered his bill, which provided for privately printed party tickets circulated by public officials, only a sop to sooth public sentiment. Finally two more Democrats, G. G. Goucher in the Senate and F. H. Gould in the Assembly, not content with their central committee's act, introduced a measure reportedly patterned after the law in Massachusetts. All four bills were referred to the Committee on Apportionment and Election Laws.[28]

The Federated Trades measure provided for ballots printed at state expense. A candidate for public office could have his name appear on the ballot in one of two ways: by securing the convention endorsement of a party representing three percent of the electorate in the jurisdiction for which the nomination was made; or by filing a nominating petition signed by three percent of the jurisdiction's voters, "provided that one thousand signatures shall be sufficient for the nomination of a candidate to any office in this state." A convention delegate could neither seek himself or aid another person in obtaining an independent nomination. The ballots contained the names of all legally nominated candidates, arranged alphabetically by office. Ballot paper was to be supplied by the Secretary of State and watermarked with a design kept secret until the day of election. Each ballot contained a numbered stub. The number was noted on a poll list after the elector's name, and detached before the ballot was deposited in the ballot box.[29]

With several exceptions the bill sponsored by the Democratic Central Committee was identical to the Federated Trades measure. In the interests of party regularity, the official Democratic version permitted an elector to vote for all his party's presidential electors by placing just one mark after their political designation. The bill also freed a worker for two hours in order to vote on election day, without "any deduction . . . from his usual salary or wages."[30]

The third reform measure, the Gould-Goucher bill, also made allowance for the Australian ballot and like the others provided for three percent independent nominations. But neither contained safeguards against illegal voting, nor gave workingmen time off on election day. At best it was a general outline which might guide the legislators in the framing of a new law. This was not the case with the Dibble bill. In an attempt to conciliate the old with the new, Dibble proposed a plan featuring the use of privately printed but publically circulated tickets. Each party printed its own tickets which were then turned over to the county clerks for distribution at the polls. If a party received more than ten percent of the vote, it would be reimbursed by the state for printing costs. On election day, the voter was presented with one of every ticket in the field. He retired to a booth, selected his ballot, and, if he desired, scratched and substituted names. Then all ballots were folded and handed to an election official who deposited the one the voter wished to cast in the ballot box. The others were immediately destroyed. Such a system Dibble believed provided complete secrecy and eliminated the thorny problem of determining the eligibility of candidates for places on the official ballot.[31]

In the Senate, the committee on elections began deliberations on the ballot bills on January 28. Under the watchful eye of James Maguire, the committee prepared a substitute which "would have all the best features of the Australian law with such additions as the States using that law have found advisable." On February 4, the substitute was reported to the floor accompanied by the committee's report. It declared that the committee bill remedied several "evils" which had existed in the election system. The bribery of corrupt and needy voters and the intimidation of dependent voters would be prevented by compulsory secret voting. Moreover, it was hoped that the assessment of candidates by nominating conventions would be "reduced to insignificance," once the cause for such assessment—the printing and distribution of tickets—was assumed by the state. Finally, "the blackmailing practices of 'piece clubs' and other political parasites" would be checked because the names of all legally nominated candidates would appear on one publically printed ballot.[32]

The action of the upper house buoyed up the spirits of the reformers. Quick passage in the Senate appeared probable. As one Los Angeles Republican put it, "we'll pass the Australian Ballot law if it were only to show the gang of Democratic hypocrites who at San Jose howled for Buckley and Ballot Reform, that we keep the pledges we make to the people." However, Senate sentiment in favor of the substitute measure was more apparent than real. It was two weeks before the legislation came up for its first reading, and several more days slipped by before it could be engrossed and printed. Finally, on February 26, the Senate adopted the substitute by a vote of thirty-three to one, and ordered it transmitted immediately to the Assembly.[33]

In the lower house events followed a similar pattern. The four bills which were reported out of committee on February 6 were read for the first time on February 12. They were then placed back in the hopper where, by February 18, they had only advanced to positions 187-190 on the file for second reading. Disturbed that the bills at their current pace would never reach the floor before adjournment, Frank Gould requested that they be placed on special file to be acted upon immediately. The motion, needing a two-thirds majority to pass, lost on a roll call vote, forty-four ayes to thirty noes.[34] Republicans cast all the negative votes. Of San Francisco's eighteen man GOP delegation, half voted against the motion in apparent violation of their county convention's pledge to support the Australian ballot, five voted in favor, and four cast no vote at all.

The newspapers of the state reacted strongly to the dilatory tactics of the Republicans. The Sacramento *Record-Union*, in an editorial entitled "Digging a Republican Grave," claimed that if the Republican Assemblymen and Senators bowed to the will of the bosses, "they will convert themselves into sextons, and may proceed forthwith to the burial of the Republican majority in California." The San Francisco *Call* expressed a similar opinion, while the *Examiner* came to the reluctant conclusion that ballot reform was an unwelcome subject to a majority of legislators.[35]

The legislature soon gave reformers much greater cause for concern. On February 28, California's junior United States Senator, George Hearst, died in Washington. Hearst was barely in his grave before thirteen men rushed to succeed him. With the Republicans holding a three-fourths majority, it was clear the choice would be made from the GOP. After the first ballot on March 10, party wheelhorse Morris M. Estee along with San Francisco publisher Charles DeYoung were deadlocked for the lead. A week passed without a break. Then on March 17, Henry Dibble withdrew DeYoung's name from consideration and threw his support to ex-Congressman Charles Felton, who moved into second place with thirty-eight votes behind Estee's forty-five. Estee, in the meantime, had turned up evidence—in the form of money wrappers discarded in a wastebasket in the State Library—which he thought proved that Henry Dibble was about to bribe fourteen legislators to vote for Felton. However, before Estee could put his findings to proper use, Martin Kelly, San Francisco saloon boss and a supporter of Felton, promised sixteen assemblymen $1,000 apiece to switch to Felton.[36] Two days later Felton was elected with a majority of seventy-two votes out of the 118 cast.[37]

The wastebasket affair came hard on the heels of another scandal involving the acceptance of a $400 bribe by Assemblyman Elwood Bruner. The San Francisco *Examiner* on March 5, had carried an expose accusing Bruner of taking the money in return for using his influence to obtain a position for one Thomas Stoley on the city's police force. An investigation was demanded which resulted in a majority report finding Bruner guilty, but recommending leniency, and a minority report finding him not guilty, but urging a reprimand for exposing the Assembly to "scandalous and humiliating" charges. The Senate, serving as a jury, found Bruner not guilty.[38]

The wastebasket affair and the whitewash of the Bruner scandal, along with rumored payoffs in the re-election of Leland Stanford to the U. S. Senate, led the twenty-ninth session to be dubbed "the legislature of a thousand scandals." In the spirit of this appellation, the Assembly continued its snail's paced deliberation of the ballot reform bills, which now included the Senate substitute. On Thursday, February 26, Dibble moved that all the reform bills be made a special order for the following Monday. On Monday and Tuesday, the substitute was read for the first and second time. Then began a week of prolonged debate and intensive maneuvering as friends and opponents of the reform prepared for the final vote.[39]

On March 3, the *Examiner* reported that thirty-eight Assemblymen were certain to vote for the substitute. These included seventeen of the nineteen Democrats along with twenty-one Republicans. To obtain the three additional votes needed to pass the measure, lobbyists for the Federated Trades and the Grange sent circulars to all the members who were pledged to support the Australian ballot. These included nineteen of the twenty members from San Francisco,[40] eleven of whom had not yet committed themselves to back the substitute bill. Dibble countered by threatening Federated Trades lobbyist Eugene Hough with arrest on felony charges of intimidation if he did not stop reminding the legislators that they had promised to vote for ballot reform. Then ridiculing what they regarded as the unwieldiness of the ballot, Dibble and his cohorts distributed an alleged sample Australian ballot which was three feet long and eighteen inches wide.[41]

When the bill came up for its final reading on March 6, Dibble once again led the attack. In a speech on the Assembly floor, he declared that the

Australian ballot would change essential features of the American political system. Nomination by petition was calculated to destroy the two major parties which were the basis of American government, and would result in political anarchy. In responding to Dibble's charges, T. W. H. Shanahan, the Democratic floor leader, noted that in the state only one newspaper[42] and a few Assemblymen opposed the reform. The changes it would effect were not revolutionary, but progressive. The Australian ballot was the "grand consummation" of the evolution of voting practices in California. Furthermore, nominating conventions in large cities resulted in conspiracies between bosses who supported each other and even shared the same wardstrikers at the primaries. Independent nominations were intended to rob the boss of his monopoly over the selection of candidates.[43]

The debate continued the following day. Elwood Bruner declared that anyone who had signed a pledge to support the Australian ballot was now absolved from it, because the substitute bill was merely a modification of a Massachusetts law. The deliberations sank to a still lower level in an exchange between Republican J. R. Matlock and Democrat Charles S. Arms. In response to Matlock's contention that he would never vote for the Australian ballot, Arms produced a Federated Trades pledge card, signed by Matlock, declaring support for just such a bill. Matlock, taken by surprise, admitted signing the pledge, but claimed he had in a letter "modified the obligation." When Assemblyman George B. Robertson of Del Norte and Siskiyou asked whether he was in the habit of modifying promises, Matlock replied that he kept his promises to Republicans, but not to Democrats. Shanahan then abruptly terminated the proceedings by demanding a call of the house which revealed that only fifty-seven of eighty Assemblymen were on the floor. Fourteen of the missing members were absent without leave, of whom ten were San Francisco Republicans. In an attempt to track down the truants, Shanahan moved that the Sergeant-at-Arms, who was visiting in the bay area, be ordered to meet the incoming Sacramento trains in Oakland and arrest and return to the capital any Assemblymen found upon them. The motion was defeated. Then after an unsuccessful attempt by Dibble and Bruner to bring the main question to a vote, the Assembly adjourned.[44]

Although the contending sides appeared to be stalemated, time was on the reformers' side. The proponents of the Senate substitute needed the votes of the San Francisco Republicans who had been pledged by their county convention to support the Australian ballot. By their absence, however, ten of the city's Republicans had proved themselves to be most reluctant champions. Dibble's strategy was to send enough of the San Franciscans away as to deny the reformers the forty-one votes needed to pass the substitute. When the substitute was voted down, Dibble then would have placed his own bill on special order for the following Monday, brought back his city colleagues, and attempted passage on the grounds that the public was expecting some type of ballot legislation. His plan misfired, however, when Shanahan, by one vote, blocked his attempt to bring the question to the floor. According to Shanahan, "in that way we carried the matter over till Monday when the senatorial fight and public opinion brought the absentees back."[45]

When the legislature met next on Monday, March 9, eleven of the missing Assemblymen were back in their seats, and Dibble conceded he could no longer block passage. The Republican floor leader was down, but not out. Reaffirming his undying opposition to the measure, he claimed, perhaps tongue in cheek, that should the bill pass unamended, the citizens of the state would praise him for his opposition. However, for the sake of the people and his party, Dibble begged leave to make several changes. T. W. H. Shanahan, distrustful of Dibble's newly found magnanimity, demanded the opposition's promise to recede from the amendments, should the Senate refuse to accept them. This was apparently agreed to and Shanahan, perhaps not wishing to press his luck, made no further objection to the proposed changes.

Dibble's amendments were offered with the purpose of solidifying the position of the two major parties. They changed the number of signatures needed for independent nomination of state officials from three to five percent, thereby greatly increasing the difficulty of nomination by petition, and provided that an elector need only mark the first name in a party's list of presidential electors to indicate his support for all. With these amendments attached, the bill passed the Assembly by a vote of sixty-six to three. Two days later the Senate concurred, and the bill was signed into law by Governor Henry H. Markham.[46]

Most parts of the Senate substitute were copies of the bills sponsored by the Federated Trades and the Democratic Central Committee. Besides the Dibble amendments, there was only one other significant difference between final revision of the code and the bill written by James Maguire. Again it was in the interests of party regularity. Under the new law, the names of all parties which nominated candidates by convention appeared at the top of the ballot. A voter wishing to cast a straight party ticket made a single mark opposite the name of his party.[47]

The Australian ballot did not fulfill all the high expectations of its advocates. By eliminating piece clubs and the traffic in votes on election day, it delivered only a glancing blow to the armor of the political boss. By his organization's ability to dominate both public and party officials who, in turn, controlled nominating and election machinery, the boss could easily outflank the reformer's Australian ballot redoubt. Even though Christopher Buckley fled the city in 1891 to escape a grand jury indictment, San Francisco had a series of political strongmen in the next few years, including Republican Colonel Dan Burns; Gavin McNab, the Democratic "easy boss"; and Abraham Ruef, leader of the Union Labor Party.[48]

Nevertheless, the movement for the Australian ballot in California was the opening round of a twenty year campaign for election reform which had impressive results. In 1893, a corrupt practices act regulating political expenditures was placed on the statute books. In 1901, a comprehensive bill regulating the selection of delegates to nominating conventions at "intermediary" primary elections was signed into law. Eight years later, in 1909, the nominating convention was abolished by the substitution of the direct primary election. In 1911, the legislature added to the ballot a preferential vote for United States Senators, and submitted constitutional amendments to the people calling for women's suffrage, and providing for the initiative, referendum and recall. Finally, in 1913, the Progressives, in their passion for nonpartisan politics, secured passage of cross-filing provisions, allowing candidates to run in the primaries of parties to which they did not belong.

In the past, historians writing about California have considered the 1890's to be a high point of machine domination, a time when the Southern Pacific attempted to "name and control virtually every political office. . . ."[49] While few would deny the power of the railroad as a manipulator and debaser of politics, the pervasiveness of this theme has generally caused writers to ignore the considerable accomplishments of the state's election reformers in the 1890's. Certainly no era is ever completely given over to wrong doing; where there is corruption there is also reform, they exist together. The early 1890's was a time when workers and farmers had not yet fully accepted the idea that they were mutually exclusive interest groups. Consequently, the campaign for the Australian ballot in California was a rare example of effective cooperation between *fin de siecle* farmers and laborers for much needed political reform.

NOTES

1. L. E. Fredman, *The Australian Ballot: The Story of an American Reform* (East Lansing, 1968), 3-9. Fredman's account is the most thorough study of the nationwide movement for the Australian ballot. However, he devotes only one page to the passage of the measure in California.

2. San Francisco *Bulletin*, Sept. 29, 1877.

3. In his desire to have his name widely circulated, a candidate would sometimes appear on tickets representing parties hotly opposed to each other. In 1886, former United States Senator Cornelius Cole wrote of his son, Willoughby, a fledgling politician, "it might seem strange if he were on the Pixley-American ticket [a nativist slate] and on the O'Donnell-Irish ticket both, and yet I would not wonder to see that on the day of election. Politics makes strange bedfellows; strange combinations sometimes." Cole to Olive Cole, Oct. 26, 1886, Cornelius Cole Papers, Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

4. San Francisco *Bulletin*, Aug. 23, 1877; Los Angeles *Herald*, Oct. 24, 1886.

5. Henry George, "Money in Elections," *North American Review*, CXXXV (1883), 201-211; Charles A. Barker, *Henry George* (New York, 1955), 536.

6. J. J. McCook, "The Alarming Proportion of Venal Voters," *The Forum,* XIV (1892), 1; Allen Thorndike Rice, "Recent Reforms in Balloting," *The North American Review,* CXVIII (1886), 628-642.

7. Despite the fact that it was a matter of considerable contemporary interest, standard college textbooks in California History, such as John W. Caughey, *California* (2nd ed., Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1953); Andrew F. Rolle, *California* (New York, 1963); Ralph J. Roske, *Everyman's Eden: A History of California* (New York, 1968); and Walton Bean, *California: An Interpretive History* (New York, 1968), make no mention of the passage of the Australian ballot.

8. Franklin Hichborn, "California Politics, 1891-1939," p. 141, a typescript contained in the John R. Haynes Papers, Library, University of California, Los Angeles; Barker, *Henry George,* 244, 605. James G. Maguire was a judge of the Superior Court of San Francisco. In 1892, with labor support, he was elected to the first of three consecutive terms in the House of Representatives where he advocated George's single-tax theories. In 1898, he was the Democratic candidate for governor. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1961* (Washington, D. C., 1961), 1254.

9. Anne W. Lane and Louise Herrick Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane* (Boston, 1922), 17-18.

10. John H. Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System as Embodied in the Legislation of Various Countries* (2nd ed.; Boston, 1889), 203, iii.

11. Lane to Wigmore, Sept. 20, 1888 and Feb. 17, 1889, in Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane,* 20, 22-23.

12. Ira Cross, *History of the Labor Movement in California* (Berkeley, 1935), 177, 204; *Fifth Biennial Report, California Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1891-1892* (Sacramento, 1893), 40.

13. Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane,* 22; *Sacramento Record-Union,* Feb. 5 and Mar. 1, 1889.

14. They were AB 153, introduced by John Davis of Placer; AB 199, by D. A. Ostrom of Yuba and Sutter; and AB 233 and 579, by E. C. Tully of San Benito.

15. *Journal of the Assembly of the State of California* (hereafter cited as *JA*), 28 sess., 1889, pp. 493, 612, 648, 680-681, 701; Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System,* 42-43.

16. Joseph B. Bishop, "The Secret Ballot in Thirty-three States," 592; Wigmore, *The Australian Ballot System,* 42.

17. Lane to Wigmore, Feb. 17, 1889, in Lane and Wall, eds., *The Letters of Franklin K. Lane,* 23; Sacramento *Record-Union,* Mar. 6, 1889.

18. Bishop, "The Australian Ballot in Thirty-three States," 592; Edith Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White* (Stanford, 1927), 126; Winfield Davis, *History of Political Conventions* (Sacramento, 1893), 267.

19. San Francisco *Examiner,* Sept. 6 and 13, 1890; San Francisco *Call,* Sept. 13, 1890.

20. The statement conveniently neglected to mention that the so-called Force Bill had been killed in the Senate by a coalition made up mostly of Democrats. See, Harold U. Faulkner, *Politics, Reform and Expansion* (New York, 1959), 110-111.

21. San Francisco *Examiner,* Sept. 29, 1890.

22. Fuhrman's career is treated in Cross, *History of the Labor Movement in California;* Cator's in Harold E. Taggart, "Thomas Vincent Cator," *California Historical Society Quarterly,* XXVII (1948), 311-318 and XXVIII (1949), 47-55.

23. San Francisco *Examiner,* San Francisco *Call,* and San Francisco *Bulletin,* Oct. 7, 1890.

24. San Francisco *Examiner,* Oct. 13, 1890.

25. E. W. Thurman to Markham, Oct. 17, 1890, Henry H. Markham Papers, Huntington Library; San Francisco *Call,* Oct. 25, 1890.

26. *California Blue Book, 1915* (Sacramento, 1915), 241, San Francisco *Examiner,* Dec. 22, 1890. It was rumored that Buckley in league with Democratic Senator George Hearst, had cooperated with the Republicans. The alleged strategy called for Buckley and Hearst to help the GOP win control of the legislature so that Republican Leland Stanford might be re-elected to the Senate. Stanford, so the story ran, would return the favor in 1893, when Hearst was up for re-election. Democrat Stephen M. White, who was running very hard for Stanford's senate seat considered the rumor to have some validity. But he placed primary cause for the Democrat's defeat on "the tremendous amount of money which Stanford put into the contest which snowed us everywhere." That the results were unusual is testified to by the fact that nominally Democratic San Francisco sent an Assembly delegation to Sacramento composed of eighteen Republicans and two Democrats. Dobie, *The Political Career of Stephen Mallory White,* 106, 124; White to W. J. Tinnin, Nov. 14, 1890 and White to A. F. Jones, Nov. 19, 1890, Stephen M. White Papers, Stanford University Library.

27. San Francisco *Examiner,* Dec. 20, 1890; San Francisco *Alta California,* Jan. 7, 1891.

28. The Federated Trades measure or Bert-Ostrom bill was introduced as AB 29 in the Assembly, and probably in the Senate as SB 123 (the state archives reports SB 123 as missing, so a comparison of the two bills is impossible, however the titles are identical); the Democratic central committee's Arms-Britt bill as AB 3, SB 8; Dibble's bill as AB 2; and the Gould-Goucher bill as AB 27, SB 57. *JA,* 29 sess., 1891, pp. 30, 32; *Journal of the Senate of the State of California* (hereafter cited as *JS*), 29 sess., 1891, pp. 33, 39, 45.

29. These safeguards were aimed at preventing the "Tasmanian Dodge." This was a procedure whereby a party manager sent the first of his henchmen into a polling place to vote a blank piece of paper and bring out the real ballot. The manager then marked the ballot and paid a second person to vote it and bring out another unmarked ballot. The process was then repeated. See, Fredman, *The Australian Ballot,* 10, 50. A copy of AB 29 is found in Drawer 2003, Legislative Bill File Record Group (hereafter cited as DR 2003 LBFRG), California State Archives.

30. AB 3, 1891, DR 2003, LBFRG; San Francisco *Examiner,* Jan. 11, 1891.

31. AB 27 and AB 2, 1891, DR 2003, LBFRG; San Francisco *Alta California,* Jan. 8, 1891.

32. San Francisco *Call,* Jan. 29, 1891; *JS,* 29 sess., 1891, pp. 279-280; San Francisco *Examiner,* Feb. 5, 1891.

33. *JS,* 29 sess., 1891, pp. 427, 454, 478-479, 521; Sacramento *Record-Union,* Feb. 13, 1891; San Francisco *Call,* Feb. 8 and 25, 1891.

34. *JA,* 29 sess., 1891, pp. 466-467; San Francisco *Examiner,* San Francisco *Call,* Sacramento *Record-Union,* Feb. 20, 1891.

35. Sacramento *Record-Union,* Feb. 26, 1891; San Francisco *Call,* Feb. 21, 1891; San Francisco *Examiner,* Feb. 26, 1891.

36. Martin Kelly, writing twenty-six years after the fact, claimed that the money in question was not to be used as bribes to gain support for Felton, but rather was used as a

payoff to legislators who had sold their vote to the Western Union Telegraph Company to defeat a bill the company regarded against its interests. Martin Kelly, "Martin Kelly's Story," ed., James H. Wilkins, San Francisco *Bulletin*, Sept. 17, 1917. See also Alexander Callow, "The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXIX (1957), 342-344.

37. *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 701, 773-774, 806.

38. San Francisco *Examiner*, Mar. 5, 1891; Callow, "The Legislature of a Thousand Scandals," 344-346.

39. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 574, 616, 635.

40. Henry Dibble had denounced the San Francisco County Republican convention's pledge to support ballot reform.

41. San Francisco *Examiner*, Mar. 3 and 4, 1891.

42. The opposition newspaper was the San Francisco *Chronicle* published by Michael DeYoung. Its support of Dibble might have been a return favor for Dibble's management of DeYoung's brief Senatorial campaign.

43. San Francisco *Examiner*, Mar. 7, 1891.

44. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 677-678, 681-682; San Francisco *Examiner*, Los Angeles *Times*, Sacramento *Record-Union*, Mar. 8, 1891.

45. T. W. H. Shanahan to Stephen M. White, Mar. 15, 1891, White papers.

46. *JA*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 685-687, 696-697; *JS*, 29 sess., 1891, pp. 702-703; San Francisco *Examiner*, Sacramento *Record-Union*, Mar. 9, 1891; Los Angeles *Times*, San Francisco *Alta California*, Mar. 12, 1891.

47. *Statutes of California, 1891*, 165-178. Referring to this last provision, one eastern reformer described it as "unjust discrimination . . . against independent candidates. . . . This law is an excellent illustration of the kind of statute which tricky politicians consent to have enacted when they desire to bring into contempt the reform which it professes to embody." The state Supreme Court apparently agreed, for a year later the provision was declared unconstitutional because it "destroys the just, and equal, and uniform operation" of the election law. Bishop, "The Secret Ballot in Thirty-three States," 596; *Eaton* v. *Brown* (1892), 96 Cal 371.

48. Dan Burns was a mining speculator and former state Secretary of State. He managed Governor Henry H. Markham's election campaign in 1890 and Morris M. Estee's unsuccessful campaign in 1894. In the latter year he controlled every vote in the 164 man San Francisco delegation to the Republican state convention. Gavin McNab gradually assumed power in San Francisco Democratic organization after the fall of Buckley. He earned his nickname because of his support of reform mayor James D. Phelan in the latter 1890's. Eric F. Petersen, "End of an Era: California's Gubernatorial Election of 1894," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVIII (1969), 146; John P. Young, *San Francisco: A History of the Pacific Coast Metropolis*, II (San Francisco, n.d.), 706; San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 10, 1899.

49. Spencer Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968), 2. See also George Mowry, *The California Progressives* (Berkeley, 1951), 16-20; and Matthew Josephson, *The Robber Barons* (New York, 1934), 228.

This island Santa Catalina was a jewel in the sea...

by Robert A. Weinstein

Not very many Southern Californians took vacations in the late 1800's. An affluent middle class had not yet emerged and vacationing was largely the privilege of the wealthy. Although the resorts of Southern California were exclusive the best of them, La Jolla, Santa Barbara and Del Mar, were so well known they enjoyed national fame. They were patronized in the winter by the same people who enjoyed Bar Harbor, Saratoga and Newport, Rhode Island in the sweltering Eastern summers.

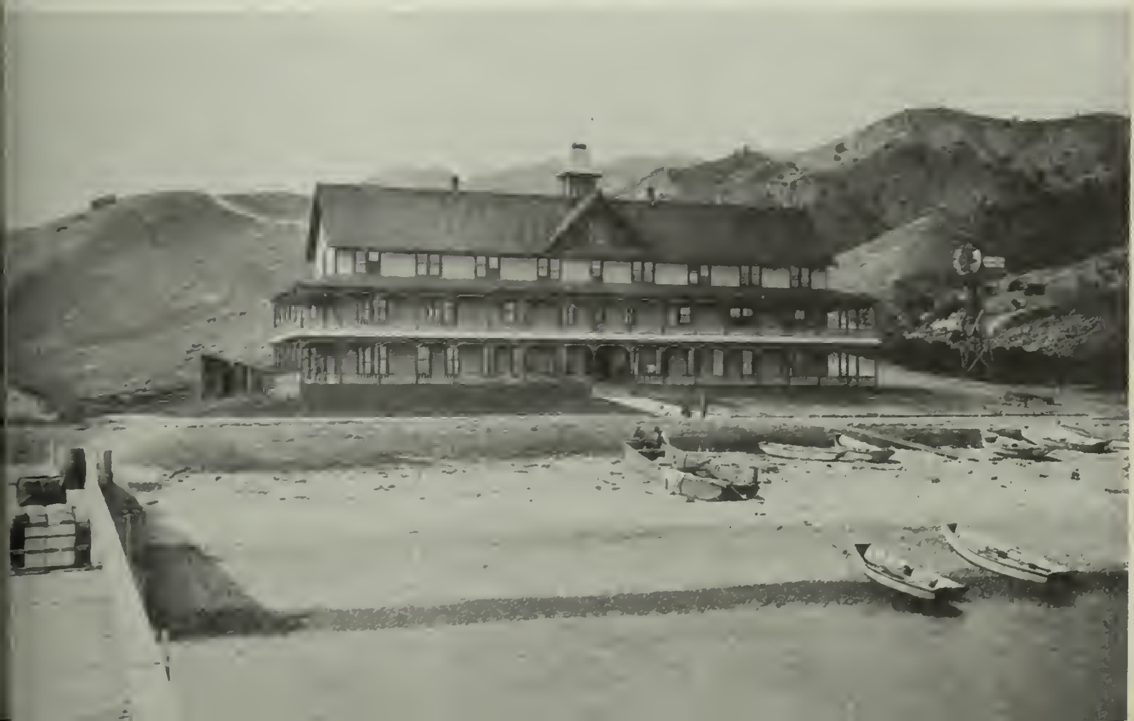
Relaxation was required for workmen and storekeepers as well and, while there were no jet planes, package tours to far away places or "fly-now, pay-later" plans, picnics and buggy rides were popular. There were no Hawaii's readily available then and a tour of the world was unthinkable for most people. For the late nineteenth-century Southern Californian the world was small and the sea offered tem-

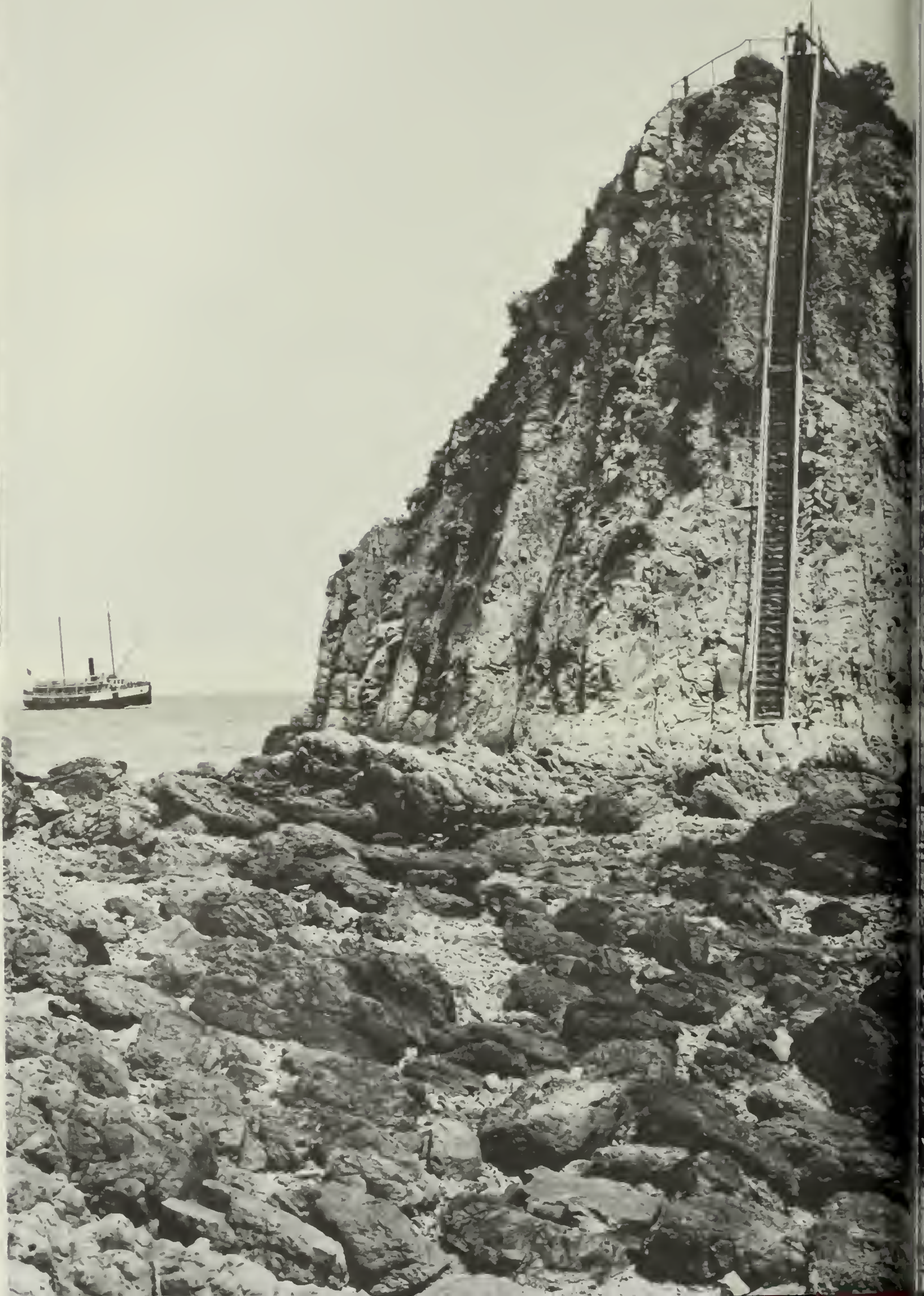
porary escape. The Pacific's restless waters provided the sea-borne traveler with a salutary dash of salt air, ocean wind, and frightening fog. Best of all, this oceanic world offered a chain of offshore islands, some easily approached by boat. Of the five islands, the chief jewel was Santa Catalina, a scant 21 sea miles southwest of Los Angeles' seaport, San Pedro.

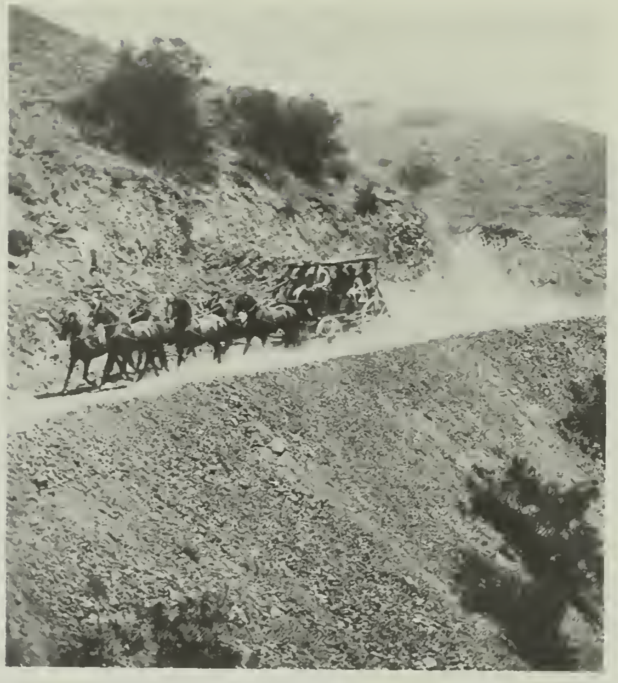
Catalina's vacationland potential for Southern California was not long overlooked. Affording a natural lee from Pacific gales, the island had a history of random uses by Yankee shipmasters, Mexican smugglers, sheep-owning farmers and itinerant adventurers. Regular sea traffic with the mainland was established in 1886 by the Bannings to assure a clientele for the island's first inn, The Metropole Hotel, built by George R. Shatto in the island cove called Avalon. The hotel attracted further building activity that soon transformed the little cove into a

Isolated in beauty, host to infrequent visitors, the tiny shelving cove at Avalon Harbor offered shelter and a safe anchorage for passing seamen and visiting Southland yachtsmen.

Magnificent in lonely splendor, George R. Shatto's Metropole Hotel at Avalon promised and delivered, first-rate ocean fishing from rowboats, unforgettable sunrises and sunsets, clean sea air and quiet rest for the weary.



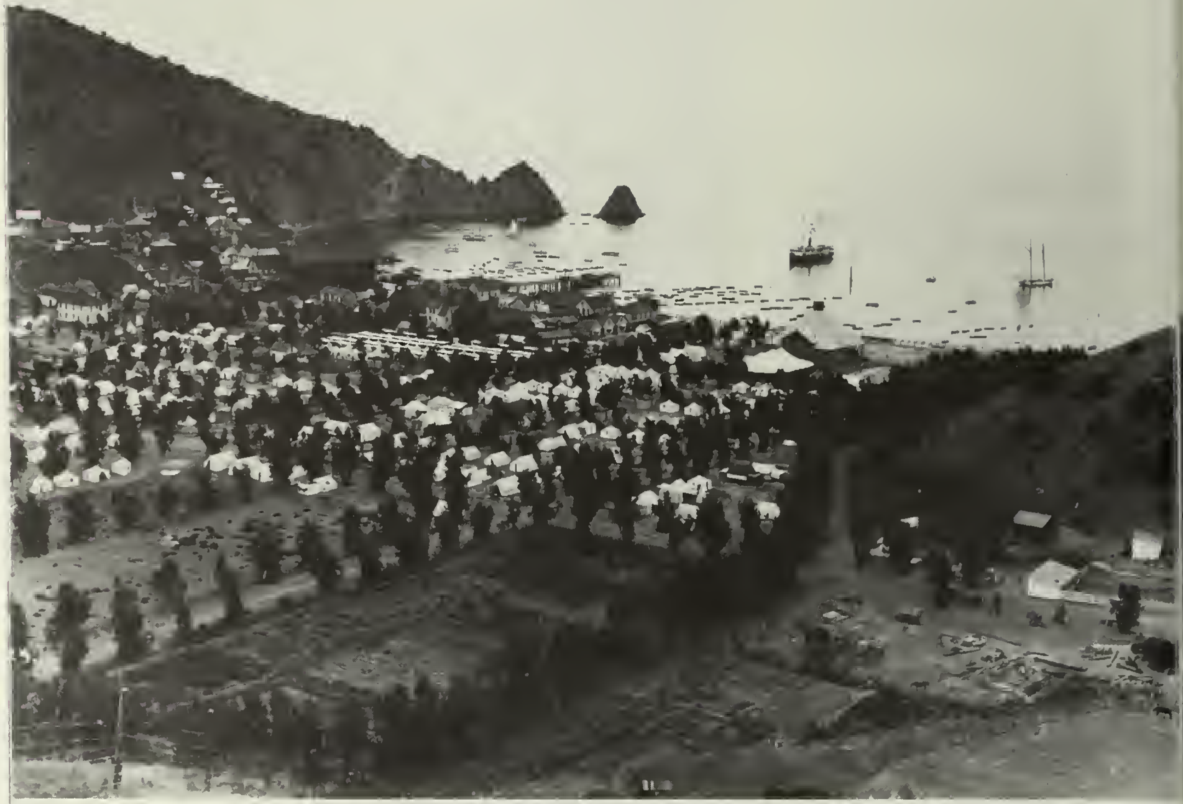




Six husky horses and a jolting stagecoach offered bone-breaking glimpses of wooded hills and brush-covered valleys to the determined visitor.

budding island village. Entertainment for visitors then was rugged. It consisted mainly of hiking over the island hills, swimming, sailing, fishing, boar hunting and primitive camping. The island's popularity grew as an accessible, inexpensive resort, and visitors multiplied rapidly. They came in private sailboats and finally in steam tugs chartered for that purpose.

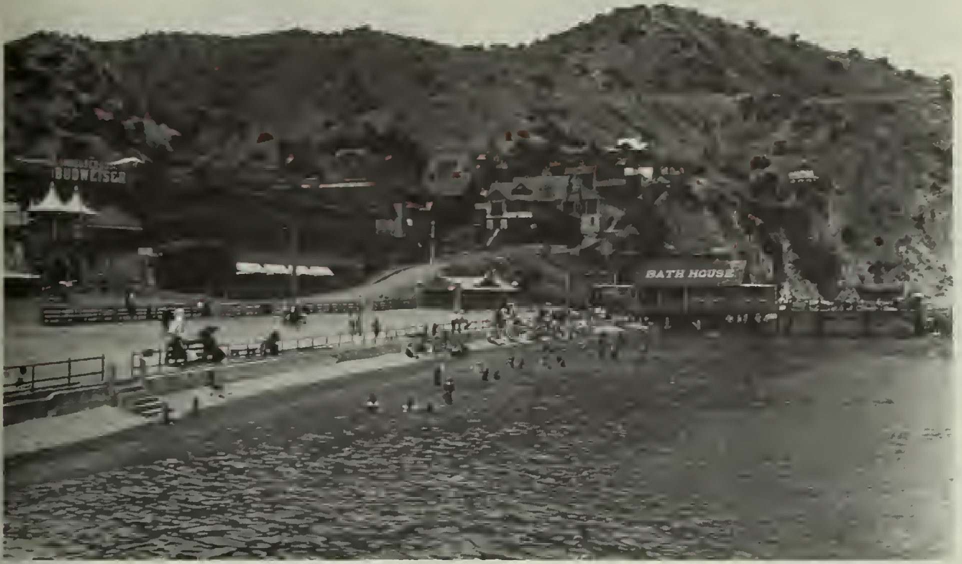
To shelter and entertain the growing throngs of tourists, promoters rapidly developed the island's resources. They organized a tiny city at Avalon, a city of tents and rustic pleasures. They climbed towering Sugar Loaf Rock and built an observation platform on its crest, a lookout point reached by climbing more than a hundred rickety wooden steps. They built roads over the hills and brought a stage coach and horses to the island to tour the dusty roads. They built wharves, piers, bath houses and boardwalks and even specially designed glass-bottomed boats to explore the "submarine gardens." They built larger ships to bring more tourists,



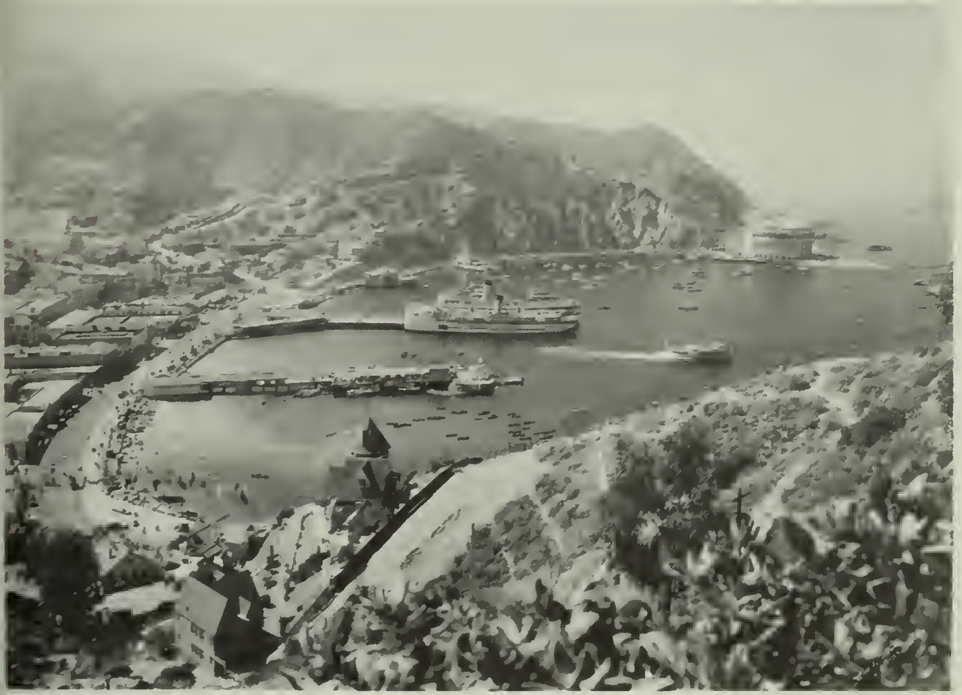
The sea-visitors mecca was Tent City at Avalon. Dependably drafty, dusty and utterly lacking in any kind of privacy it loomed in popular esteem as a wonderfully permissive local island paradise.

more comfortably to Avalon's hilly beauty. The village grew, spreading back up into the hills, climbing the encircling slopes of the bay.

As Los Angeles grew, so did the fame of Avalon, of Catalina. It become the poor man's South Sea island. A trip across the Catalina Channel on the Great White Steamer was fashioned into legend and no visit to Southern California was considered complete without it. As fashions changed, the rustic pleasures of Catalina gave way to more sophisticated ones and dance pavilions and name bands became solid attractions. Yachtsmen sailed for Avalon and the Isthmus as bees fly to a hive, and as Los Angeles burst into the mid-twentieth century, the once-lonely, shelving cove at Avalon on Catalina Island had become a prosperous model of a Southern California beach resort.

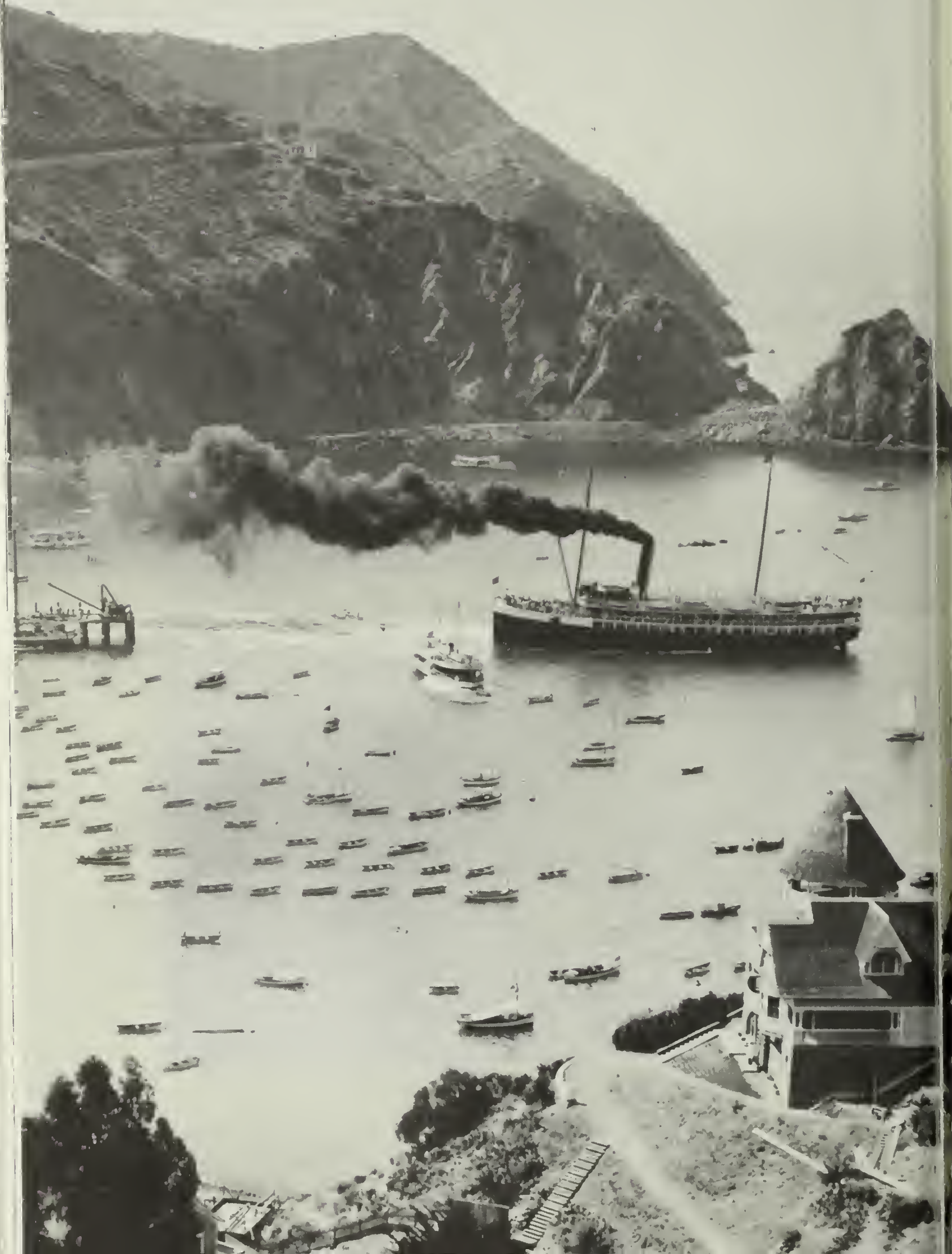


Southern California's competitor to Atlantic City's renowned boardwalk was the beach strand at Avalon. This "place," wide, smooth and naked to the hot sun suited almost every taste fom exercise to quick romance.



The Great White Steamers brought eager passengers and assorted jazz lovers impatient to listen and dance to the music of Guy Lombardo, Benny Goodman and other legendary name bands at Avalon's famous Casino.

a jewel in the sea...



Donald A. Nuttall

Associate Professor of History at Whittier College, Whittier; honorable mention winner of the 1971 California History Prize with the following study.

The Gobernantes of Spanish Upper California: A Profile

For fifty-two years Spain confronted the problems of controlling and developing the isolated frontier province of Upper California, and considering the difficulties involved she met with substantial success. The years following the colonizing expedition of 1769-1770 witnessed a strengthening of her precarious hold on the region, and its material advance was gradual but steady. By the time the province was wrested from her grasp by Mexico's independence movement of 1821 its landscape was dotted with presidios, missions, and pueblos, and the Hispanic flavor which still pervades the State was deeply implanted in its soil.

Contributors to Spain's success in Upper California were numerous. Failure may well have come early had it not been for high officials such as Visitor General José de Gálvez and Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. The devoted work of the Franciscan father presidents, most notably Junípero Serra and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, and the more than one hundred friars who served under them was vital. Nor can one overlook the indispensable sacrifices and service of the military.

None, however, was more essential to Spain's Upper California enterprise than the *gobernantes*[1] who were given direct responsibility for the area's affairs. And in filling that critical office the crown chose well; the performances of the nine men who ruled the province were almost invariably respectable, and some were highly commendable.

Rather than being fortuitous, this circumstance reflected the proper selection of personnel. This being the case, one's curiosity leads him to wonder as to the kind of individual the king sought for the position; what, in other words, were the requisite professional and personal qualifications? Contemplation of the matter soon produces a possible solution: that the question might well be answered by drawing a profile of the typical Upper California *gobernante*, the pen being guided by collective data gleaned from records of the incumbents' backgrounds and careers. The belief that such a project would provide that service prompted the present writer to undertake it, the results of which appear below.

When completed, the profile may also be utilized for purposes of a comparative study which would be both enlightening and interesting. Although local differences existed, Upper California and the other provinces of New Spain's northern frontier shared certain characteristics—the foremost being isolation and security threats from hostile Indians and foreign intruders—and it can be assumed that responsibility for dealing with such common problems would be entrusted to men with similar blackgrounds and capabilities. To test the assumption one could trace a like profile of another of the frontier provinces, such as New Mexico. It is this writer's view that in most basic respects it would conform closely with that which follows.

Upper California's *gobernante* was invariably a military officer. That this was true simply evidences the fact a professional soldier was necessary to guide the affairs of a province which was chronically faced with the threat of attack from within or without.

Upper California's ruler was almost as certainly a *peninsular*—a full-blooded Spaniard born in Spain—for his office, as were virtually all political positions in the Spanish Indies, was reserved to members of that class.[2] *Peninsulares,* in fact, governed the province for forty-eight of the fifty-two years of its Spanish period. The exceptions were Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who served as military commandant from 1774-1777, and José Darío Argüello, who upon the death of José Joaquín de Arrillaga in 1814 acted as governor *ad interim* until replaced about a year later by Pablo Vicente de Solá, another *peninsular.* Rivera y Moncada and Argüello probably were *criollos* —full-blooded Spaniards born in the New World.

Moreover, Upper California's political head was likely to be a Basque or a Catalan, for this was true with five of the incumbents. More striking is the fact that natives of those two regions controlled the province for forty-one of its fifty-two Spanish years. The Catalan portion—thirteen years—came early: Gaspar de Portolá and Pedro Fages ruled from 1769-1774, and Fages returned to govern from 1782-1791. The Basque domination came later but is more impressive. With the exception of Argüello's one year tenure, Basques held the Upper California governorship for the final twenty-nine years of the Spanish period: Arrillaga, 1792-1794 and 1800-1814; Diego de Borica, 1794-1800; and Solá, 1815-1822. Upper California's government, one might well conclude, had become the possession of a veritable Basque dynasty. The remaining six years of *peninsular* rule were shared by the kingdoms of Andalusia and Valencia, represented by Felipe de Neve, 1777-1782 and José Antonio Roméu, 1791-1792, respectively.

With but one probable exception, Upper California's *gobernantes* enjoyed noble status. Borica and Solá identified themselves as "hidalgo," while most of the others simply indicated "noble." Neve provides a problem in this respect, for he consistently wrote no more than "conocida," or "known," in the appropriate part of his service record, but in view of his rise within Spain's colonial system it is difficult to believe that he was other than highborn. If this conclusion is correct, Rivera y Moncada remains as the sole Upper California ruler of common origin.

Upper California's *gobernante* most likely had begun his military career in Spain, for this was true of five of the men: Portolá, Neve, Fages, Borica, and Roméu. The other four had enrolled in New Spain. It is apparent, therefore, that peninsula-born Arrillaga and Solá traveled to the New World with civilian status.

Typically, he had entered the army as a young man, most probably in his early or mid-twenties. The extremes were Portolá, who began his soldiering at the precociously early age of sixteen, and Solá, who delayed until his thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth year.

His initial rank likely was that of a junior officer, for most had begun as a cadet, an alférez, or a sub-lieutenant. The exceptions were Solá, whose first commission was that of a militia captain, and Argüello and Arrillaga, who enlisted as common soldiers.

If his military career had been inaugurated in Europe, the odds favored his having come to New Spain after having served five years or less, this being the case with three of the five men: Fages, Borica, and Roméu. This experience-pattern, however, was most irregular, since Portolá and Neve remained in the Old World for thirty and twenty years respectively before making the trans-Atlantic voyage.

Uniformity is restored, however, when the times of their transfers to the New World are considered. Portolá, Neve, Borica, and Roméu all came to New Spain in 1764, as members of a military reinforcement of the viceroyalty following the Seven Years' War. Fages arrived in 1767 with a Catalan Volunteer Company destined to join Colonel Domingo Elizondo's expedition against Sonora's rebellious Indians. Five of Upper California's *gobernantes*, therefore, began their American careers within a three year period.

Upper California's ruler most commonly had risen to the rank of lieutenant colonel by the time he assumed office. The exceptions were Portolá, when named commander of the colonizing expedition, Fages and Rivera y Moncada, when granted the lesser position of military commandant, and Arrillaga and Argüello, upon becoming governor *ad interim*. All were captains, save Fages, who was a lieutenant. Fages and Arrillaga, however were lieutenant colonels when named governor. With the exception of Roméu, whose premature death precluded such action, all those formally awarded the governorship were promoted to colonel while in office.

He was also likely to be in his fiftieth year at the outset of his rule, for that was the average age. Argüello's sixty years made him the eldest, while Fages, who was only forty when designated military commandant, was the youngest. The latter, however, was fifty-two when he ascended to the governorship.

The man, as the rank and age suggest, customarily brought considerable experience to his new office. The average length of military service had been twenty-six years, and that figure was exceeded in six instances. The range was from Argüello's forty-two years to Fages' eight at the time he was named military commandant. The latter's lack of experience, combined with his relative youth, may explain the difficulties he encountered during his first Upper California rule. He was, however, a twenty year veteran when appointed governor, and this was reflected in his more creditable performance in that capacity.

The background of Upper California's *gobernante* invariably included exposure to combat. Three of the men had campaigned in Europe: Portolá had been wounded in Italy during the War of the Austrian Succession and had participated in Spain's invasion of Portugal in the course of the Seven Years' War, while Neve and Fages had also taken part in the latter campaign. More commonly, however, his soldiering had been against frontier Indian adversaries: Fages had served in Elizondo's expedition, had fought Apaches in Sonora, and had commanded the force sent to chastise the Yumas after their destruction of the Spanish settlements on the Colorado River; Roméu had led the Colorado River expedition during its latter stages, and had faced rebellious natives in Durango and Sonora; Borica had campaigned against Apaches in New Mexico and other parts of the *Provincias Internas*; and Arrillaga and Argüello likewise had seen action on the northern frontier. Solá had experienced a type of combat shared by none of the others, for evidence indicates that he played a role in quelling the insurgent movement initiated in New Spain by Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's "Grito de Dolores" of 1810.

Upper California's ruler also possessed administrative experience upon entering his new position. Portolá had served as governor of Lower California from 1767-1769, and Rivera y Moncada had held the same position under Jesuit supervision for a more prolonged period of time. Neve had been adjutant major of military units in Spain, sergeant major of the Provincial Cavalry Regiment of Querétaro in New Spain from 1765-1774, and administrator of the Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas from 1767-1774. By the time he was named governor, Fages had commanded a Catalan Volunteer Company for many years and had been commandant of presidios Santa Cruz and El Pitic in Sonora. Roméu had been both an adjutant major and sergeant major in the Company of Dragoons of Spain and had been commandant of Presidio El Pitic in Sonora. Arrillaga was the lieutenant governor of the Californias when he assumed the governorship. Borica had commanded Presidio San Eleazario in Nueva Vizcaya and had been an adjutant inspector of the *Provincias Internas* from 1782-1793. Argüello had been commandant and habilitado, or supplymaster, of presidios Santa Barbara and San Francisco. And Solá had served as habilitado general of the California presidios from 1805-1807.

The *gobernante's* Upper California service generally comprised the twilight of both his career and life. Roméu, Arrillaga, and Borica died while in office, the latter while in Durango on leave of absence because of ill health. And to those who survived their tenure of office an average of only six to seven years of life remained.[3] Most numerous were Portolá's sixteen; after his departure from California he visited Spain for two years in order to resolve some personal affairs, returned to New Spain to serve as governor of Puebla from 1777-1785, and then returned again to Spain, where he continued in the royal service until his death in 1786. Portolá is the only *peninsular gobernante* whose remains are interred in the land of his birth. Argüello's twelve to thirteen years follow closely behind; governor of Lower California from 1815-1822, he retired to the Guadalajara region where he deceased in late 1827 or early 1828. Rivera y Moncada survived four years as lieutenant governor of the Californias before falling at the hands of the Yumas in 1781. Fages' death in Mexico City came after three years as an officer without assignment. And Neve succumbed two years after leaving California, while serving as commandant general of the Provincias Internas. Only the death-date of Solá is uncertain. He left California in 1822 as the province's deputy to the Mexican congress, but knowledge of him after that date is limited to reports that he was not admitted to the legislative body and that he was released from the military in late 1825 or early 1826. The fact that he had reached his mid-sixties, however, would lead one to conclude that his life had about run its course.

Considering the times, the longevity of Upper California's ruler was impressive, and would indicate that he characteristically enjoyed robust health. The average age at time of death was sixty-one. The range was from Argüello's seventy-three or seventy-four years to Roméu's fifty. Three died in their sixties and an equal number in their fifties. With the exception of Rivera y Moncada, they all deceased of natural causes.

The Upper California *gobernante*'s death or retirement invariably terminated a military career of great length, for the average was almost thirty-nine years. Portolá's fifty-two years, closely followed by Argüello's forty-nine, head the list, while Solá's respectable thirty rest at the bottom. Six served for thirty-five years or more, and all except Solá in excess of thirty.

The above figures invite one final calculation—the proportion of the man's life contributed to the royal service—and the findings are remarkable. Collectively, Upper California's rulers devoted over sixty percent of their years to the military, and most of them approximated that average. Portolá's amazing seventy-six percent to Solá's forty-six comprise the span. Portolá, however, was rivaled by Neve, whose total was seventy-one percent.

As sketched thus far, the profile of Upper California's *gobernante* reveals much of his typical background and career, but the most critical lines are yet to be drawn. For of all the factors determining his qualifications for the office, and his degree of success therein, the most important were the personal traits he possessed—his personality, character, temperament, and basic capabilities. If, therefore, the complete man is to be recreated those vital facets of his being must be developed. The process will also provide a service which justice perhaps demands, for it should go far toward restoring to the nine men the human qualities of which the above clinical dissection has deprived them.

This portion of the task will be more difficult than that already completed, for rather than being a mere accumulation and treatment of factual data it will involve the making of value judgments, based upon what documents and other sources inform us of the individuals' actions and how they have contemporaneously and subsequently been viewed. With this precautionary thought in mind, we shall proceed, but only after first extending due apologies to those who might be misjudged.

Upper California's ruler without exception was a faithful servant of the crown, who conscientiously strived to fulfill his office's responsibilities as he conceived them. The fact that the individual performances were not all of equal quality was due to variations in other areas, not in that of devotion to duty.

Educationally, he always met at least the minimum requirements of his position, and some cases he exceeded them.[4] Those of *peninsular* nobility had all received the basic education which would be expected of their social class, and perhaps more. We are told, for example, that Solá had been carefully educated in the schools of Spain, and that he had a better education than any of his predecessors.[5] The two *criollos*—Argüello and Rivera y Moncada—were also highly literate despite their more modest origins.

Assessment of his intelligence—or basic intellectual capacity—is less tenable, for that complex and multi-faceted mental characteristic must always be gingerly handled, and particularly in the cases of historical personages who are beyond direct observation and testing. It might suffice, therefore, to point out that only one of Upper California's *gobernantes* has been accused of lacking adequate mental acuity for the office. When in Lower California, both as governor under the Jesuits and as lieutenant governor of the Californias, Rivera y Moncada seems to have performed satisfactorily,[6] but in Monterey with its greater responsibilities and more complex problems he became an anxious, overly-cautious official whose delay in executing superior orders, erratic actions, and conflicts with associates—most notably Father Serra and Juan Bautista de Anza—brought both his excommunication from the church and removal from office.[7] Concurring with José de Gálvez' contemporary view, Father Antonine Tibesar has attributed Rivera y Moncada's plight to a probable lack of intelligence, to which he adds possible aggravation by emotional factors.[8] With that single possible exception, however, it is clear that Upper California's rulers possessed the intellectual competence required by their position.

Upper California's *gobernante* rarely, if ever, lacked courage. Most of the men had displayed valor during the course of their military careers, as is noted in their service records, and although circumstances in Upper California afforded few opportunities to demonstrate the trait, when these did arise the response generally was respectable. One could cite, for example, Portolá's dogged refusal to admit failure in the face of the multifarious problems which plagued the colonizing expedition of 1769-1770, or Neve's dedication to duty despite the illness he suffered throughout his administration.[9] There were but two possible stains on the record: Rivera y Moncada's chronic preoccupation with what he considered to be an inadequate number of troops at his disposal;[10] and Solá's precipitous retreat from Monterey to the Salinas Valley when confronted with the landing of Hippolyte Bouchard's motley band of Buenos Aires privateers in 1818.[11] In fairness to the two men, however, it should be pointed out that Rivera y Moncada reportedly comported himself well in his fatal encounter with the Yumas,[12] and that King Ferdinand VII, perhaps correctly concluding that Solá merely had shown proper prudence in dealing with overwhelming odds, rewarded his actions against Bouchard with promotion to colonel.[13]

Success in most positions depends more upon personality and human relations than upon any other single factor, and this definitely was true of Upper California's highest office. Optimum exercise of its duties required proper rapport with two principal groups of associates in the province—the Franciscan father president and his fellow friars, and military subordinates, both officers and soliders—and its absence in either case could mean difficulties, ineffectual rule, and ultimate removal. Fortunately, Upper California's *gobernante* typically receives high marks in this area, for although the men provide a study in extremes the findings are significantly skewed toward the favorable end of the scale.

Five of the men left records of exemplary behavior. Portolá remarkably retained the respect and affection of all his associates throughout the extremely trying days of the colonizing expedition. There has been, in fact, little but praise for the manner in which he conducted himself during that difficult period. Borica had an unusually warm relationship with Father President Lasuén, a fellow Basque. Nourished by the governor's role in obtaining financial aid for the friar's destitute sister in Spain,[14] it provided the basis for generally harmonious cooperation between the two men. And we are told that Borica was noted for kindness and courtesy in his intercourse with subordinates.[15] Arrillaga's piousness and his closeness to the Franciscans probably threatened his receiving the derisive appellation *frailero,* and although he reportedly could be abrupt with his soldiers on occasions, the fact that they referred to him as "Papá Arrillaga" reveals their affection for him.[16] Argüello's religiosity was such that Arrillaga labeled him "El Santo,"[17] and upon his departure the friars regretted the loss of one "who seemed like one of us."[18] The statement that at Roméu's funeral "all who knew him displayed deep grief"[19] speaks for itself.

Neve and Solá fare less well when human relations are assessed. The former impresses one as a capable but aloof officer who would gain the respect but little more from his military subordinates. And, as is well known, his relations with Father President Serra and his religious colleagues were notoriously bad.[20] Unlike others who were removed from office under like conditions, Neve was upheld by superior officials, perhaps because, as has been suggested, he was merely acting as the agent of a crown which was determined to affirm royal authority in ecclesiastical affairs, a characteristic of the exaggerated regalism of the times.[21] In Solás case the coin is reversed. He obviously came from a devout family—one of his sisters was a nun and two of his brothers were priests—and this was reflected in his generally satisfactory relations with the Franciscans.[22] He was, however, unpopular with his military subordinates; his aristocratic manner offended them, he was a strict disciplinarian, and on at least one occasion he struck a soldier who had displeased him.[23]

The behavior of two of the men—Fages and Rivera y Moncada—was such that it brought their removal from office. Fages, however, deserves dual consideration. When military commandant, his inexperience in matters of command and his high-strung temperament combined to make of him a most irascible individual. Consequently, he has received such sobriquets as "Bluff Catalan"[24] and "A veritable Peter the Headstrong,"[25] and his contemporaneous label of "El Oso" probably was not applied in recognition of his bear-hunting exploits of 1772 in the Cañada de los Osos.[26] Regardless, he frequently clashed with fellow officers, alienated the troops under his command to the point of desertion, and carried on a constant conflict with Father President Serra, whose visit to Mexico City in 1773 brought his dismissal.[27] By the time of his return as governor, however, he had matured, and although he occasionally had differences with the Franciscans and others, including his wife, he apparently was a much more congenial companion and associate. Rivera y Moncada's difficulties in dealing with others of equal status has been mentioned above, but he did have one redeeming human relationship; he was fond of his soldiers, and they reciprocated his affection.[28]

With the exceptions of Rivera y Moncada and Fages, when serving as military commandant, Upper California's *gobernante* possessed a combination of the above treated traits which produced a competent and satisfactory administrator. Generally, however, he was of the type which is content merely to carry out orders with little or no inclination to devise. In Neve and

Borica we find two notable exceptions, for both had the twin attributes of a progressive ruler—imagination and initiative. Neve authored the *Reglamento* under which Upper California was governed for most of its Spanish period, planned and founded the province's two enduring civilian pueblos of San Jose and Los Angeles, and established the first Spanish settlements on the Santa Barbara Channel.[29] And in most of those projects he provided leadership for superior officials. Borica was the force behind Father President Lasuén's surge of five mission foundings during 1797-1798, advanced the material development of the missions by requisitioning artisans from Mexico, and promoted education for the children of the soldiers and settlers.[30] Special mention should also be made of Roméu. His capabilities always were highly regarded by superiors, but the illness which handicapped him during his entire administration and terminated it with death after one year precluded their demonstration in Upper California. Otherwise, he too may well have ranked above the average cut of his fellow *gobernantes.*

A look at one final facet of our subjects' lives will reveal more of highly personal traits than of qualification for political governance. I make reference to their domestic status. Six of the nine men were married, the exceptions being Portolá, Arrillaga, and Solá, who apparently were contentedly wedded to the royal service. Upper California, however, enjoyed the presence of but four *gobernadoras*, for Neve failed to bring his wife from Seville to New Spain,[31] and Rivera y Moncada's did not join him in the province. Roméu's family, of course, had a stay of short duration. Those of the others, however, were resident for more prolonged periods, and in two cases they experienced an increase in number; Argüello's nine progeny were born prior to his administration, but the Fages added a daughter[32] and the Boricas two sons[33] to their Monterey households. The Fages' dispute of 1785, a provincial *cause celebre*,[34] has received much attention, but it can be hoped that the incident was merely an aberration in an ordinarily harmonious relationship. Nor is there reason to believe that the Boricas had anything but a happy and tranquil life together. One cannot but conclude, however, that the marriage of Argüello and Ignacia Moraga, a union of two of Spanish Upper California's more prominent families, represented the ultimate in the province's domesticity. The Argüellos were blessed with six sons and three daughters, who became the beneficiaries of effective rearing by capable and loving parents. One son became a priest, and several entered the military, including Luís Antonio, who was destined to become Upper California's first political head during its Mexican period.[35] Better known is a daughter, María de la Concepción Marcela, whose ill-fated romance with the Russian Nikolai Petrovich Rezanov had been immortalized by the poignant poetic lines of Bret Harte.[36]

The pen may now be set aside, for the profile is complete. The observer who stands close and carefully studies the numerous lines which constitute its structure will detect certain irregularties, but upon stepping back a few paces he will perceive a more homogeneous pattern. Before him will be a general image of the type of man the Spanish monarchs of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries selected to govern the frontier province of Upper California. Their confidence generally was well placed, and their reward was a half century of effective stewardship of that remote portion of their vast American empire. The nine men whom the figure represents held an office which perhaps was of relatively modest importance, and most of their accomplishments would not loom large in the greater scheme of history. For them, however, there would always be the satisfaction of knowing that theirs was a job well done.

NOTES

Documentation in the body of the article was confined to material not drawn from the Biographical Data Charts.

1. The precise position held in common by the nine subjects of this study should be defined at the outset. A *gobernante* is an official who is in direct control of a region regardless of his official designation. The term, therefore, is not synonymous with that of governor. For example, Gaspar de Portolá, although his official status as commander of the colonizing expedition has been debated, was certainly the *gobernante* of Upper California from 1769-1770. The same was true of Pedro Fages when he was military commandant of Upper California from 1770-1774, and of Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, who held the same position from 1774-1777. Although those two officials theoretically were under the governor of the Californias resident in Loreto, they were independent of him in reality; they corresponded directly with the viceroy and were required only to report to the governor, who could not reverse their decisions. Essentially, the *gobernante* of Upper California during that time was the principal officer resident in Monterey. When the capital of the Californias was transferred to Monterey in 1777—a change which was effected when Felipe de Neve made the trip northward from Loreto—the distinction between the governor of the Californias and the *gobernante* of Upper California disappeared, for they became one and the same. This cirsumstance also explains why Neve can be considered the *gobernante* of Upper California only from 1777-1782, although he was governor of the Californias from 1775-1782. From 1777-1804 Upper California's *gobernante*, as governor of the Californias, was also responsible for Lower California, which was directly under a lieutenant governor in Loreto, an office created in 1776. It was not until 1804, when the Californias were divided into Antigua (Lower) California and Nueva (Upper) California, that Upper California had a governor responsible for that province's affairs exclusively. José Joaquín Arrillaga was the first to hold that office.

2. One authority tells us that of the 170 viceroys who ruled in the Spanish Indies up to 1813 only four were American born, and that of 602 captains general, governors, and presidents, only fourteen were Creoles. See Clarence H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York and Burlingame: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), p. 194, quoting Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Mexico* (5 vols.; Mexico, 1883-1885), I, 57. Haring notes that if those figures are not altogether accurate, they are approximately so.

3. In calculating this figure I have utilized the number of years the individual survived after his final period in office if, as in the cases of Fages and Arrillaga, they served as *gobernante* on two separate occasions.

4. This conclusion is based upon the intellectual training displayed in the correspondence and written reports of the men.

5. Bancroft, *California*, II, 471-472.

6. For several very favorable comments by Jesuits on Rivera y Moncada's capabilities, character, and performance during his service under them, see Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLI, and Alan K. Brown, "Rivera at San Francisco: A Journal of Exploration, 1774," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (December, 1962), pp. 325-326.

7. Detailed accounts of Rivera y Moncada's difficulties as military commandant may be found in Bancroft, California, I, 265-273, and in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, II, Chapters LII-LXI.

8. Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M., ed., *Writings of Junípero Serra* (4 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955-1966), I, xvii (hereinafter cited as Tibesar, *Writings of Serra*).

9. On June 4, 1777, just four months after his arrival in Monterey, Neve requested retirement because of ill health, which he attributed to the strain of the seven years he had served as commissioner of the Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas. See Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 22 and 40-41.

10. Rivera y Moncada's constant concern over the number of troops in Upper California is well known, but it can perhaps best be illustrated in his own words. On June 13, 1774, he wrote to a friend, Juan José de Echeveste: "How do you expect that with the twenty-five miserable soldiers I have at the Presidio I am going to punish the insurgents, if disturbances break out in one of the missions? They will have to summon reinforcements for me from the Peninsula; but I shall be reduced to ashes and my bones will have whitened in the sun before those reinforcements will have had time to arrive. That is indeed, alas, the fate that awaits me!" As quoted in Omer Englebert, O.F.M., *The Last of the Conquistadors: Junípero Serra (1713-1784)* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1956), p. 149. For a defense of Rivera y Moncada in this regard, see Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLVI.

11. Details of the Bouchard incident may be found in Bancroft, *California*, II, Chapter XI.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 363.

13. *Ibid.*, II, 471.

14. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Fray Pedro Callejas, San Buenaventura, November 28, 1797, in Finbar Kenneally, O.F.M., trans. and ed., *Writings of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén* (2 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1965), II, 59-60 (hereinafter cited as Kenneally, *Writings of Lasuén*); and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, Santa Barbara, December 13, 1797, in *ibid.*, 61.

15. Bancroft, *California*, I, 727.

16. *Ibid.*, II, 206-207.

17. *Ibid.*, 361.

18. *Ibid.*, 360-361.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 490.

20. Details of the frequent differences between Neve and the Franciscans are in *ibid.*, Chapter XV, and in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra,* II, Chapters LXVI-LXXXI.

21. Tibesar, *Writings of Serra,* I, xvii.

22. Bancroft, *California,* II, 470.

23. *Ibid.*, 471.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 487.

25. Irving B. Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico* (Boston; 1911), p. 156.

26. For details on Fages' bear hunt in the Cañada de los Osos, see Bancroft, *California,* I, 187, and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra,* I, 283-284.

27. A detailed account of Serra's visit to Mexico City and its results may be found in Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra,* I, Chapters XLI-XLIV.

28. Bancroft, *California,* I, 363; and Tibesar, *Writings of Serra,* I, xviii.

29. For details of Neve's governorship, see Bancroft, *California,* I, Chapters XIV-XVIII.

30. Details of Borica's governorship may be found in *ibid.,* Chapters XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX, and XXXIII.

31. Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," p. 6.

32. Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra,* II, 333.

33. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, San Diego, November 5, 1797, in Kenneally, *Writings of Lasuén,* II, 59-60; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, San Buenaventura, November 28, 1797, in *ibid.*, 60-61; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, March 9, 1799, in *ibid.*, 114-115; Fermín Francisco de Lasuén to Don Diego de Borica, Santa Clara, July 30, 1799, in *ibid.*, 126; and Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, Santa Clara, August 15, 1799, in *ibid.*, 128-129.

34. For details of the Fages' family dispute, see Bancroft, *California,* I, 391-393; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra,* II, 394-395 and 399-400.

35. Bancroft, *California,* II, 466-468.

36. Bret Harte's poem "Concepción de Argüello" appears in *The Poetical Works of Bret Harte* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1883), pp. 74-80.

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA
GOBERNANTES OF SPANISH UPPER CALIFORNIA

Gaspar de Portolá[1]

Date of Birth:	1717[2]
Place of Birth:	Balaguer, Catalonian Province of Lérida.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	July 31, 1734–April 26, 1743: Alférez in Regiment of Dragoons of Villaviciosa and Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia. April 26, 1743–July 31, 1764: Lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia. 1743: Participant in Italian campaigns of War of Austrian Succession: Wounded in Battle of Madona del Olmo. 1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War. July 31, 1764: Commissioned as captain in newly created Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, destined to serve in New Spain. November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain.[3] November 30, 1767–March 9, 1769: Governor of Lower California.[4] November 30, 1767–February 3, 1768: Commissioner of Expulsion of Jesuits in Lower California.[5]
Upper California Rule:	March 9, 1769–July 9, 1770: As military commander of the colonizing expedition.[6]
Post-Gobernante Career:	January 5, 1771: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel in Regiment of Dragoons of Spain.[7] 1773–1776(?): In Spain on leave of absence.[8] 1777–1785: Governor of Puebla, New Spain.[9] July 7, 1777: Promoted to rank of colonel.[10] 1785: Returned to Spain.[11] September 7, 1785: Appointed colonel in Regiment of Dragoons of Numancia.[12] February 7, 1786: Appointed Teniente de Rey de la Plaza y Castillos de la Ciudad de Lérida.[13]
Date of Death:	October 10, 1786.[14]
Place of Death:	Lérida.[15]

1. The material on Portolá basically was obtained from: Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, September 30, 1770, in Archivo General de la Nación, México D.F., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, tomo 3 (Croix, 1769-1773) (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGN, and the section as Virreyes); Gaspar de Portolá, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; and Portolá Memorial to the king, 1770, an enclosure in Marqués de Croix to Julián de Arriaga, Mexico, September 28, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 13 (Croix, 1769-1770). Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Fernando Boneu Companys, *Don Gaspar de Portolá: El Noble Militar Leridano, Descubridor y Primer Gobernador de California* (Madrid: Publicaciones Españolas, 1970), p. 7 (hereinafter cited as Companys, *Portolá*). The birth-years of most of the subjects of this study can be precisely calculated by utilizing their hojas de servicios, which indicate their age at the time of writing. Since most are dated December 31, the year is obvious. In the case of Portolá, however, the problem is more difficult; in the two hojas de servicios cited above and one dated December 31, 1762, which appears in Companys' pamphlet give various ages which would place Portolá's birth-year as early as 1716 and as late as 1723. Although he did not cite his sources, Companys obviously had access to other records, perhaps baptismal. Hence, I have accepted his statement that 1717 was the year of Portolá's birth.

3. Juan Villalba y Angulo to Viceroy Cruillas, Veracruz, November 1, 1764, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 304A; and Cruillas to Arriaga, Mexico, November 4, 1764, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 10 (Cruillas, 1761-1766).

4. Portolá was named governor of Lower California and Commissioner of Expulsion of the Jesuits on June 3, 1767. See Croix to Domingo Elizondo, Mexico, June 3, 1767, MS, HM 22487, in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Not until November 30, however, was he able to reach Cabo de San Lucas on the Peninsula and assume control. See Mary Margaret Downey, R.S.C.J., "The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Berkeley, 1940), p. 133 (hereinafter cited as Downey, "Expulsion of the Jesuits"). The date I have established as ending Portolá's Lower California governorship and beginning his Upper California rule is that upon which he departed from Loreto and initiated his active participation in the colonizing expedition. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Palou* (4 vols.; New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), II, 25 (hereinafter cited as Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*).

5. Portolá's responsibilities as Commissioner of Expulsion ended on February 3, 1768, when the sixteen Jesuits of Lower California set sail for the mainland. See Downey, "Expulsion of the Jesuits," pp. 154-156.

6. Portolá's Upper California rule came to a close on July 9, 1770, when he sailed from newly-established Monterey on the *San Antonio*, leaving Pedro Fages in charge as military commandant. See Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*, II, 298-299; and Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., trans. and annot., *Palou's Life of Fray Junípero Serra* (Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1955), p. 94.

7. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 28, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 13 (Croix, 1769-1770); Juan G. Muniain to Arriaga, Palació, January 5, 1771, in Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Audiencia de Guadalajara, legajo 417 (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGI, and the legajo as Guadalajara); Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, April 29, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 14 (Croix, 1770-1771).

8. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 19, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 14

(Croix, 1770-1771); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, September 26, 1772, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 30 (Bucareli, 1772); and *Estado* of the Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, Puebla, August 2, 1773, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 162B. I have been unable to find evidence as to the time when Portolá made his return to New Spain.

9. Royal Appointment of Gaspar de Portolá as Governor of Puebla de los Angeles, Aranjuez, June 9, 1776, in Archivo General de Simancas, Direccion General del Tesoro, Inventario 24 (hereinafter this archive will be cited as AGS); and Bucareli to José de Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, November, 1777).

10. Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, March 27, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 89 (Bucareli, March, 1777); and Bucareli to Gálvez, Mexico, November 26, 1777, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 97 (Bucareli, November, 1777).

11. Portolá was granted permission to retire from the governorship in early 1784, but it was not until 1785 that he relinquished the office and returned to Spain. See Matias de Gálvez to José de Gálvez, Mexico, January 24, 1784, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 134 (Matías de Gálvez, 1784); and Companys, *Portolá*, p. 25.

12. Companys, *Portolá*, p. 26.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Maynard J. Geiger, O.F.M., *The Life and Times of Fray Junípero Serra* (2 vols.; Washington D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1959), I, 153 (hereinafter cited as Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*). Portolá's date of death also appears in Companys, *Portolá* under a photograph of his appointment as Teniente de Rey de la Plaza y Castillos de Lérida.

15. *Ibid.*

Pedro Fages[1]

Date of Birth:	1730.
Place of Birth:	Guizona, Catalonian Province of Barcelona.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	June 29, 1762–May 15, 1767: Subteniente in Second Regiment of Light Infantry of Catalonia. 1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War. May 15, 1767: Commissioned as lieutenant in newly formed Infantry Company of Catalan Volunteers, destined to serve in Colonel Domingo Elizondo expedition against rebellious Indians of Sonora, New Spain.[2] August, 1767: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain.[3] 1767–September, 1768: Participant in Elizondo campaign in Sonora.[4] 1769–1770: Participant in Upper California colonizing expedition.
First Upper California Rule:	July 9, 1770–May 25, 1774: Military commandant of Upper California.[5] January 5, 1771: Promoted to rank of captain.
Interim:	1775: Authored report on Upper California upon order of Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua.[6] 1775–1777: Commander of Second Company of Catalan Volunteers in Guadalajara.[7] 1778–1782: Commander of Second Company of Catalan Volunteers in the Provincias Internas. Commandant of presidios Santa Cruz and El Pitic in Sonora.[8] October 22, 1778: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel. September, 1781–September, 1782: Participant in Colorado River campaign against the Yuma Indians.[9]
Second Upper California Rule:	September 10, 1782–April 16, 1791: Governor of the Californias.[10] February 18, 1789: Promoted to rank of colonel.
Post-Gobernante Career:	1791–1794: Officer without assignment in Mexico City.[11]
Date of Death:	Late 1794.[12]
Place of Death:	Mexico City.[13]

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[1] The material on Fages basically was obtained from: Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1773, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1776, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 167A; Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1791, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66;

and Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Julián de Arriaga to Marqués de Croix, Madrid, May 12, 1767, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 416.

3. Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, August 27, 1767, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 416; Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 24, 1767, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766-1767); and Croix to Arriaga, Mexico, September 27, 1767, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 11 (Croix, 1766-1767).

4. Fages and twenty-five Catalan Volunteers under his command were detached from Elizondo's force to serve in the Upper California colonizing expedition on September 11, 1768. See *Testimonio* regarding a grant of 1500 *pesos* to Pedro Fages in recognition of his services in Upper California, Mexico, February 12, 1776, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 515.

5. Fages' first Upper California rule began on July 9, 1770, when Portolá departed from Monterey on the *San Antonio*. See Portolá Note 6 above. It ended on May 25, 1774, on which date Fernando de Rivera y Moncada formally replaced him as military commandant. See Ernest J. Burrus, S.J., ed., *Diario del Capitan Comandante Fernando de Rivera y Moncada* (2 vols.; Madrid: Ediciones José Porrua Turanzas, 1967), I, 3 (hereinafter cited as Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*).

6. The original manuscript of this highly regarded report by Fages is in Documentos relativos a las Misiones de Californias, Lancaster-Jones Papers, Quarto 4, Museo Nacional, Mexico D.F., and a signed contemporary copy, dated November 30, 1775, is in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 515. A published translation of the document may be found in Herbert Ingram Priestley, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages, Soldier of Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937).

7. Details on this part of Fages' career are in Donald Andrew Nuttall, "Pedro Fages and the Advance of the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1767-1782," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 433-435 (hereinafter cited as Nuttall, "Pedro Fages").

8. This phase of Fages' service in the Provincias Internas is treated in *ibid.*, pp. 446-457.

9. For a comprehensive treatment of Fages' participation in the Colorado River campaign, see *ibid.*, Chapters XI-XII.

10. For the beginning of Fages' governorship, see Certificate of formal taking possession of the Government of the Californias by Lieutenant Colonel Don Pedro Fages, signed by José Velásquez, San Sebastián, September 10, 1782, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 283. It ended on April 16, 1791, when Lieutenant Governor José Joaquín Arrillaga formally transferred the office to José Antonio Roméu in Loreto. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (7 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Company, 1884-1890), I, 482 (hereinafter cited as Bancroft, *California*).

11. Pedro Fages, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A. This document is included in a section entitled, "Hojas de Servicios de oficiales de graduación que fallecieron en el año de 1794."

12. *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

Fernando de Rivera y Moncada[1]

Date of Birth:	1710 or 1711.[2]
Place of Birth:	In or near Compostela, New Spain.[3]
Class:	Ignoble.[4]
Marital Status:	Married.[5]
Pre-Gobernante Career:	1742–1750: Member of company of Loreto Presidio.[6] 1750–1767: Captain of Loreto Presidio company and governor of Lower California under Jesuit supervision.[7] 1769–1770: Participant in Upper California colonizing expedition. 1772–1773: Retired from military service. Resided in Guadalajara region.[8]
Upper California Rule:	May 25, 1774–February 3, 1777: Military commandant of Upper California.[9]
Post-Gobernante Career:	1777–1781: Lieutenant governor of the Californias, resident in Loreto.
Date of Death:	July 18, 1781.[10]
Place of Death:	Colorado River. Victim of Yuma Indian uprising.[11]

1. Of the nine subjects of this study Rivera y Moncada is the only one for whom I have found no Hoja de Servicios. The material on his career and life, therefore, had to be drawn entirely from other sources.

2. Rivera y Moncada's birthdate is not altogether clear. Burrus indicates that it was about 1725, but he cites no source. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XL. In 1781, however, Teodoro de Croix, the commandant general of the Provincias Internas, to José de Gálvez that Rivera y Moncada had requested retirement and that he was then seventy years of age. See Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed., *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), p. 238. This would place Rivera y Moncada's year of birth as either 1710 or 1711, which I have accepted as being accurate.

3. Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XL; and Geiger, *Life and Times of Serra*, I, 207.

4. This conclusion is based on lack of evidence to the contrary. The possibility that Rivera y Moncada was of noble birth remains, however.

5. Rivera y Moncada married Doña María Teresa Dávalo y Patrón in approximately 1750. The union resulted in the birth of three sons and one daughter. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, XLII.

6. When requesting retirement in 1770, Rivera y Moncada indicated that he had served since 1742. See Rivera y Moncada to Marqués de Croix, San Fernando de Velicatá, March 2, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66. I have found no record of his original rank.

7. Rivera y Moncada became the acting captain of the Loreto Presidio and governor of Lower California upon the death of the incumbent, Bernardo Rodrigues Lorenzo, in 1750. A royal decree of September 11, 1752, confirmed his appointment to those offices. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xx-xxi. The royal decree is

Document I in the first appendix of Burrus' work. Gaspar de Portolá relieved him of both positions shortly after his arrival on the Peninsula in November, 1767. See Portolá Note 4 above.

8. Rivera y Moncada's request to retire was granted by Viceroy Croix on November 12, 1770. See Marqués de Croix to Rivera y Moncada, Mexico, November 12, 1770, in AGN, Californias, tomo 66. The governor of the Californias, Felipe de Barri, delayed his departure, however, and it was not until January, 1772, that he set sail from Loreto for the mainland. See Bolton, *Palou's Memoirs*, I, 168. He subsequently purchased a small *hacienda* near Guadalajara, where he resided until his appointment as military commandant of Upper California in late 1773. See Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xxii. The exact date of his appointment is not known, but his instructions from Viceroy Bucareli were dated August 17, 1773. They may be found in AGN, Californias, tomo 35.

9. Rivera y Moncada arrived in Monterey on May 23, 1774, and formally replaced Pedro Fages as military commandant two days later. See Fages Note 5 above. His Upper California rule ended on February 3, 1777 when Felipe de Neve, the governor of the Californias, arrived in Monterey. Pursuant to a royal order of April 10, 1776, Monterey henceforth was to be the capital of the Californias, and Rivera y Moncada was to reside in Loreto as lieutenant governor, a newly created office. He departed for the south on March 3. See Edwin A. Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve: Governor of California and Commandant General of the Interior Provinces" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation; University of California, Berkeley, 1951), pp. 24-30 (hereinafter cited as Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve").

10. Bancroft, *California*, I, 363; and Burrus, *Diario . . . Rivera y Moncada*, I, xxxii-xxxiii.

11. *Ibid.*

Felipe de Neve[1]

Date of Birth:	1728
Place of Birth:	Baylen, Kingdom of Andalusia.
Class:	Noble.[2]
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	March 13, 1744–August 30, 1746: Cadet in Infantry Regiment of Cantavria.
	August 31, 1746–July 30, 1749: Member of Real Guardia de Corps.
	July 31, 1749–November 5, 1751: Lieutenant *reformado* in Cavalry Regiment of Flanders.
	November 6, 1751–October 16, 1756: Lieutenant in Cavalry Regiment of Milan.
	October 17, 1756–August 31, 1764: Adjutant Major of Cavalry Regiment of Milan and Cavalry Regiment of the King.
	1762: Participant in Spain's invasion of Portugal during Seven Years' War.
	September 1, 1764: Appointed Sergeant Major. Destined to aid in formation of provincial militia regiments in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain.[3]
	1765–1774: Sergeant Major of Provincial Cavalry Regiment of Querétaro.[4]
	1767–1774: Commissioner in charge of Jesuit temporalities in Zacatecas.[5]
	March 4, 1775–Late 1776: Governor of the Californias, resident in Loreto.[6]
	October 16, 1774: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.[7]
Upper California Rule:	February 3, 1777–September 10, 1782: Governor of the Californias, resident in Monterey.[8]
	January 5, 1778: Promoted to rank of colonel.[9]
Post-Gobernante Career:	September 10, 1782–August 12, 1783: Commandant Inspector of the *Provincias Internas*.[10]
	August 12, 1783–August 24, 1784: Commandant General of the *Provincias Internas*.[11]
	February 15, 1783: Promoted to rank of brigadier general.[12]
Date of Death:	August 21, 1784.[13]
Place of Death:	Hacienda de Nuestra Señora de Carmen de Peñablanca, Nueva Vizcaya.[14]

1. The material on Neve basically was obtained from: Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, August 31, 1766, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, March 31, 1773, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 54 (Bucareli, May, 1774); Felipe de Neve, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1780, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 281; *Instancia* of Neve, 1770, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 15 (Croix, 1766-1771); and *Instancia* of Neve, May 1, 1774, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 54 (Bucareli, May, 1774). Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Neve always wrote "conocida," or "known," in that part of his hojas de servicios which called for designation of class. In view of the high positions which he attained in the royal service, I have concluded that he must have been of noble birth.

3. See Portolá Note 3 above.

4. *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, September 7, 1765, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 243A; *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, July 13, 1771, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 18 (Bucareli, 1771); and *Estado* of First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro, May 24, 1773, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 53 (Bucareli, April, 1774).

5. Details of this phase of Neve's career may be found in Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 10-14. The *Estados* of the First Regiment of Provincial Cavalry of Querétaro cited above listed him as the regiment's sergeant major during this period but noted that he was on special assignment in Zacatecas.

6. Viceroy Bucareli named Neve the acting governor of the Californias on October 28, 1774. He arrived in Loreto and assumed the duties of his office on March 4, 1775. See Beilharz, "Felipe de Neve," pp. 14-16.

7. Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, February 24, 1775, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 64 (Bucareli, February, 1775); and Luis Navarro García, *José de Gálvez y la Comandancia General de las Provincias Internas del Norte de Nueva España* (Sevilla: Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano, 1964), p. 431 (hereinafter cited as Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*).

8. Rivera y Moncada Note 9 and Fages Note 10 above.

9. Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 432.

10. The date given as the beginning of Neve's tenure as commandant inspector of the Provincias Internas is that upon which he formally relinquished the California governorship to Fages, and he served in that capacity until he assumed office of commandant general. The crown conferred the latter position upon him on February 15, 1783, but it was not until August 12 of that year that Teodoro de Croix formally placed the office in his hands. See Navarro García, *José de Gálvez*, p. 430.

11. Neve's term as commandant general was terminated by his death on August 21, 1784. See *ibid.*, p. 443.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 430.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 443.

14. *Ibid.*

José Antonio Roméu[1]

Date of Birth:	1742–1743.
Place of Birth:	Valencia.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	August 15, 1762–July 31, 1764: Lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Tricia.
	July 1, 1764: Appointed lieutenant in Regiment of Dragoons of Spain, destined to serve in New Spain.
	November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain.[2]
	July 2, 1773–October 9, 1773: Adjutant major of Regiment of Dragoons of Spain.
	October 9, 1773: Promoted to rank of captain.
	1780–1783: Commander of detachment of Dragoons of Spain serving in the *Provincias Internas.*
	January, 1782–September, 1783: Commander of Colorado River campaign against Yuma Indians.[3]
	1783: Commander of El Pitic Presidio in Sonora.[4]
	July 9, 1783: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
	Late 1783–May, 1790: Served with Regiment of Dragoons of Spain in Mexico City and Puebla.
	February 16, 1786: Named sergeant major of Regiment of Dragoons of Spain.
Upper California Rule:	April 16, 1791–April 9, 1792: Governor of the Californias.[5]
Date of Death:	April 9, 1792.[6]
Place of Death:	Monterey.[7]

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1. The material on Roméu basically was obtained from: José Antonio Roméu, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1771, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A; and José Antonio Roméu, Hoja de Servicios, April 30, 1790, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 84A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. See Portolá Note 3 above.

3. Roméu's role in the Colorado River campaign is treated in Navarro García, *José de Gálvez,* p. 395; Bancroft, *California,* I, 370; and Nuttall, "Pedro Fages," Chapter XII.

4. Teodoro de Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, February 24, 1783, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 518; Gálvez to Croix, San Ildefonso, August 29, 1783, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 518; and Navarro Garcia, *José de Gálvez,* p. 393.

5. See Fages Note 10 above for beginning of Roméu's governorship. Details of his illness and death are in Bancroft, *California,* I, 489-490 and 501-502.

6. Bancroft, *California,* I, 489-490.

7. *Ibid.*

José Joaquín de Arrillaga[1]

Date of Birth:	1750
Place of Birth:	Aya, Basque Province of Guipuzcoa.
Class:	Noble.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	May 25, 1777–March 30, 1778: Volunteer in company of Presidio San Miguel de Horcasitas in Sonora. March 30, 1778: Promoted to rank of alférez. March 30, 1778–June 12, 1783: Alférez and lieutenant in companies of presidios San Sabás and La Bahía in Texas.[2] July 14, 1780: Promoted to rank of lieutenant. June 12, 1783: Promoted to rank of captain. November, 1783–April 9, 1792: Commander of Loreto Presidio and lieutenant governor of the Californias.[3]
First Upper California Rule:	April 9, 1792–May 14, 1794: Governor *ad interim* of the Californias.[4]
Interim:	May 14, 1794–January 16, 1800: Commander of Loreto Presidio and lieutenant governor of the Californias. December 15, 1794: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
Second Upper California Rule:	January 16, 1800–March 26, 1804: Governor *ad interim* of the Californias.[5] March 26, 1804–July 24, 1814: Governor of Upper (Nueva) California.[6] 1809 or 1810: Promoted to rank of colonel.[7]
Date of Death:	July 24, 1814.[8]
Place of Death:	Mission Nuestra Señora de la Soledad.[9]

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1. The material on Arrillaga basically was obtained from: José Joaquín Arrillaga, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1794, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; and José Joaquín Arrillaga, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1798, in AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7275. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. Arrillaga apparently was destined at one time to serve as alférez of the company of Presidio Santa Cruz in Sonora. For example, see Nomination of José Arrillaga as alférez of Santa Cruz, by José Rubio, Chihuahua, March 26, 1778, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 276; and Naming of Arrillaga as alférez, by José de Gálvez (for the king), San Ildefonso, August 26, 1778, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 506. His *hojas de servicios*, however, do not indicate that he served at that post.

3. For time of Arrillaga's arrival in Loreto and assumption of his offices there, see Bancroft, *California*, II, 205. His rule as governor *ad interim* of the Californias began with Roméu's death on April 9, 1792. See Roméu Note 5 above.

4. Arrillaga's term as governor *ad interim* ended on May 14, 1794, when Diego de Borica officially assumed the governorship in Loreto. See Bancroft, *California,* I, 531.

5. Arrillaga became governor *ad interim* of the Californias for a second time on January 16, 1800, when Borica departed from Upper California on leave of absence due to ill health. He was civil governor only, however, for Colonel Pedro de Alberni of the Catalan Volunteers who outranked him and was resident in Monterey became military commandant of Upper California. Upon Alberni's death on March 11, 1802, Arrillaga again assumed the military command of the province. See Bancroft, *California,* I, 729 and II, 5.

6. A royal order of March 26, 1804, divided the Californias into the two provinces of Antigua (Lower) California and Nueva (Upper) California, and Arrillaga was

(continued on following page)

Diego de Borica[1]

Date of Birth:	1742.
Place of Birth:	Basque Province of Vizcaya.
Class:	Hidalgo.
Marital Status:	Married.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	March 15, 1763–July 31, 1764: Cadet in Infantry Regiment of Seville. July 31, 1764: Appointed lieutenant in Infantry Regiment of America, formed for service in New Spain. November 1, 1764: Arrived in Veracruz, New Spain.[2] November 1, 1765–March 14, 1774: Lieutenant in Provincial Infantry Regiment of Mexico. March 14, 1774: Rank changed to lieutenant of cavalry and transferred to presidial company of Santa Fe, New Mexico.[3] 1774–1777: Lieutenant of presidial company of Santa Fe, New Mexico. July 8, 1777: Promoted to rank of captain. 1777–1780: Commandant of Presidio San Eleazario in Nueva Vizcaya.[4] 1778–1780: Acting inspector of presidios and troops in Nueva Vizcaya.[5] 1780–1793: Third adjutant inspector of *Provincias Internas.*[6] February 5, 1785: Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.
Upper California Rule:	May 14, 1794–January 16, 1800: Governor of the Californias.[7] February 17, 1795: Promoted to rank of colonel.
Date of Death:	July 19, 1800.[8]
Place of Death:	Durango, New Spain.[9]

named civil and military governor of the latter. Arrillaga became, therefore, the first governor to have authority in Upper California exclusively. See The king to the governor of the Council of the Indies, Aranjuez, March 26, 1804, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 301; and Bancroft, *California,* II, 20-21. Arrillaga's governorship was terminated by his death on July 24, 1814. See Bancroft, *California,* II, 204.

7. I have found no evidence indicating the exact date of Arrillaga's promotion to colonel, but it apparently came in late 1809 or early 1810. See Bancroft, *California,* II, 205.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 204.

9. *Ibid.*

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1. The material on Borica basically was obtained from: Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1772, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 52 (Bucareli, April, 1774); Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1793, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 152A; Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1790, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 176; and Diego de Borica, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1798, in AGS, Guerra Moderna, legajo 7275. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. See Portolá Note 3 above.

3. Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, March 27, 1774, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 49 (Bucareli, March, 1774); and Royal Decree, San Ildefonso, July 31, 1774, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 513.

4. Luis Navarro García, *La Gobernacion y comandancia general de los provincias internas de norte de Nueva España: Estudio Institucional* (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1963), p. 146 (hereinafter cited as Navarro García, *La Gobernacion . . . Nueva Espana*).

5. *Ibid.*

6. Borica was appointed the third adjutant inspector of the *Provincias Internas* in 1780. Royal confirmation, however, was not fothcoming until 1782. See Croix to Gálvez, Arispe, April 23, 1780, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 519; Croix to the king, Arispe, October 23, 1780, in AGI Guadalajara, legajo 267; Gálvez to Croix, El Pardo, March 4, 1782, in AGI, Guadalajara, legajo 519; Navarro García, *José de Gálvez,* p. 361; and Navarro García, *La Gobernacion . . . Nueva Espana,* p. 146.

7. See Arrillaga Notes 4 and 5 above.

8. Having received a leave of absence because of ill health, Borica departed from Upper California on January 16, 1800. He arrived in San Blas on February 4 from where he traveled to Durango. He died in that city on July 19. See Viceroy José Miguel de Azanza to Antonio Cornel, Mexico, March 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 200 (Azanza, 1800); and Viceroy Félix Berenguer de Marquina to Cornel, Mexico, August 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 203 (Marquina, 1800).

9. Viceroy Félix Berenguer de Marquina to Cornel, Mexico, August 27, 1800, in AGN, Virreyes, tomo 203 (Marquina, 1800).

José Darío Argüello[1]	Date of Birth:	1754
	Place of Birth:	Ciudad de Querétaro, New Spain.
	Class:	Noble.[2]
	Marital Status:	Married.
	Pre-Gobernante Career:	September 20, 1772–July 1, 1778: Soldier in Regiment of Dragoons of Mexico.
		July 1, 1778: Promoted to rank of sergeant.
		July 1, 1778–February 8, 1781: Sergeant in company of Altar Presidio in Sonora.
		February 8, 1781: Promoted to rank of alférez.
		February 8, 1781–February 9, 1787: Alférez in company of Presidio Santa Barbara in California.[3]
		February 9, 1787: Promoted to rank of lieutenant.
		1787–1806: Commandant of Presidio San Francisco.[4]
		June 12, 1797: Promoted to rank of brevet captain.
		December 1, 1806: Promoted to rank of captain.
		1807–1815: Commandant of Presidio Santa Barbara.[5]
	Upper California Rule:	July 24, 1814–August 30, 1815: Governor *ad interim* of Upper (Nueva) California.[6]
	Post-Gobernante Career:	Late 1815–July or August, 1822: Governor of Lower (Antigua) California.[7]
		1822–Late 1827 or early 1828: Retired. Resident of Guadalajara.[8]
	Date of Death:	Late 1827 or early 1828.[9]
	Place of Death:	Guadalajara.[10]

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1. The material on Argüello basically was obtained from: José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1795, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1796, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 9; and José Darío Argüello, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1814, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 216A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

2. The first two hojas de servicios of Argüello cited above have the word "honrada," or "honorable," in the place calling for designation of class. That of 1814 indicates "noble."

3. Argüello was promoted to the rank of alférez and assigned to the company of the planned Presidio of Santa Barbara on February 8, 1781. His actual service at the presidio did not begin until its formal founding on April 21, 1782. See Bancroft, *California*, I, 377.

4. *Ibid.*, I, 471-472, and II, 117 and 358-359.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 358-359. While serving as governor *ad interim* of Nueva California from July 24, 1814 to August 30, 1815, Argüello continued to act as commandant of Presidio Santa Barbara and remained at that post.

6. Argüello became governor *ad interim* of Nueva (Upper) California upon the death of Arrillaga on July 24, 1814. See Arrillaga Note 6 above. His tenure ended when the newly appointed governor, Pablo Vicente de Solá, arrived in Monterey on August 30, 1815. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 208.

7. Argüello had been named governor of Antigua (Lower) California by a royal decree of December 31, 1814. He departed for the south by land in October, 1815, and assumed office upon his arrival in Loreto. His retirement came in July or August of 1822. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 359-360.

8. *Ibid.*, 360.

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

Pablo Vicente de Solá[1]

Date of Birth:	1761
Place of Birth:	Villa of Mondragon, Basque Province of Viscaya.
Class:	Hidalgo.
Marital Status:	Single.
Pre-Gobernante Career:	May 18, 1796: Appointed captain in Provincial Militia Infantry Regiment of Toluca. November 11, 1805–February 20, 1807: *Habilitado general ad interim* of the Californias.[2] 1810–1811: Campaigned against insurgents of Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla.[3] 1811–1812(?): Promoted to rank of lieutenant colonel.[4]
Upper California Rule:	August 30, 1815–November 10, 1822: Governor of Upper (Nueva) California.[5] March 22, 1819: Promoted to rank of colonel.[6]
Post-Gobernante Career:	Deputy from California to Mexican Congress. Reportedly not admitted.[7] 1825 or 1826: Separated from military service.[8]
Date of Death:	Unknown.
Place of Death:	Unknown.

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[1] The material on Solá basically was obtained from: Pablo Vicente de Solá, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1800, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 298A; and Pablo Vicente de Solá, Hoja de Servicios, December 31, 1806, in AGN, Indiferente de Guerra, tomo 24A. Other sources cited supplement that data.

[2] Appointment of Pablo Solá, of Toluca, as *habilitado-general ad interim* of the Californias, May 16, 1805, in AGN, Californias, tomo 69. See also, Bancroft, *California*, II, 188.

3. Shortly after the outbreak of Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla's rebellion in September, 1810 Viceroy Francisco Xavier Venegas ordered a number of provincial militia units to Mexico City, including the Provincial Militia Infantry Regiment of Toluca, in which Solá held the rank of captain. The Toluca regiment was in Mexico City when it was threatened by Hidalgo's forces, and it later was part of a force under the command of Brigadier General José de la Cruz which campaigned against the insurgents in Nueva Galicia. See Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (5 vols.; San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1886-1888), IV, 160, 242-260, 323-339, and 359.

4. I have found no documentary evidence relative to the date of Solá's promotion to lieutenant colonel, but it probably came in 1811 or 1812 in recognition of his services against the Hidalgo insurrectionists.

5. Solá was appointed governor of Nueva (Upper) California on December 31, 1814. On March 31, 1815, he took the oath of office before General José de la Cruz in Guadalajara. It was not until August 30, however, that he arrived in Monterey and assumed the duties of his office. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 208. His rule of the province ended on or around November 22, 1822, when he set sail for Mexico leaving Luís Antonio Argüello as *gefe político* of Mexican California. See Bancroft, *California*, II, 468.

6. *Ibid.*, 471.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

Book Reviews

Charles Wollenberg, *Book Review Edtior*

The American West: Frontier and Region. Interpretations by John Walton Caughey. Edited and with an introduction by Norris Hundley, Jr. and John A. Schutz. (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. xxvii + 287 pp. $10.00.)

Reviewed by Jo Beth Jacobs, *Lecturer, Santa Barbara City College.*

The American West: Frontier and Region is published as a tribute to John Walton Caughey, a prolific historian who combines the best attributes of the scholarly, dispassionate academician with those of the idealistic, passionate activist. For four decades he has been steadily writing on the history of the frontier and the West and defending the cause of liberty, both academic and civil. Norris Hundley, Jr. and John A. Schutz, first rate historians in their own right, have successfully met the challenge of distilling the essence of Caughey's writings into one too-brief volume which should serve as an introduction to the man and his work. Their 27-page introduction is an understanding delineation of Caughey's character and his career. The chronological bibliography of his many books and articles is invaluable, even to those who have known and admired Caughey for many years, and indispensable to new acquaintances among his readers. The editors have done a remarkable job of making a fairly unified work out of bits and pieces of Caughey's writing to direct the emphasis consistently toward interpretations. They have put together an excellent and unusual tribute to an outstanding member of their profession.

Because Caughey has been such a voluminous writer, the editors have been able to offer only a sampling of his various vintages rather than the full cask of the collected works. Readers with special interest in The West, The Old Southwest, California, Western Justice, or Caughey's Creed may regret that there is not enough. The bibliography is a well defined trail to the mother lode for them.

Presidential addresses of historians, the editors comment, combine the "overtones of a farewell pronouncement and a sermon upon the mount." Few are chosen for the ultimate accolade of esteem by their colleagues. John Caughey has twice been so honored and his two addresses on "California in Third Dimension," using California as an example of the problem of recreating living history, and "Our Chosen Destiny," the continuing American pursuit of liberty, focus on two of his deepest concerns, the highest national spirit and the combination of literature and more academic sources to define and portray the lively history of a region and its personalities. As Francis Parkman wrote, "to tell the story as it really happened" is the historian's goal. Caughey is an outstanding practitioner of the art and his editors have done the general reader as well as the scholar a great service by providing them with this volume which retrieves some of his many articles from possible oblivion by putting them between hard covers, and excerpts bits from other books, including the widely used *Land of the Free.*

Just as the title article "The American West: Frontier and Region" is both a description and an interpretation, so have the editors staunchly resisted fascinating diversions from his popular writings to keep the mainstream of his interpretive thought flowing. Yet there is inevitably much color in his writing on individuals from "McGillivray of the Creeks" to "Hubert Howe Bancroft." For their fine edition the editors are due the thanks of all those interested in "Western" history, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and of those with a concern for intellectual and academic freedom.

How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks. By H. Duane Hampton. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971. 246 pp. illus. index. $8.95.)

Reviewed by John D. McDermott, *Acting Executive Secretary of the President's Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.*

The great naturalist John Muir ably summarized the contribution of the United States Cavalry to the protection of our early National Parks when he wrote : "Blessings on Uncle Sam's soldiers. They have done the job well, and every pine tree is waving its arms for joy." H. Duane Hampton gives substance to the judgment in his fine study, *How the U. S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks.*

Hampton begins the volume by tracing the development of the National Park idea, concluding "one must speculate" that its origin may be found in the Act of Congress of 1864 which transferred Yosemite Valley to the State of California "for public use, resort and recreation." Hampton sees the idea fully realized in 1872 when Congress established Yellowstone National Park under the control of the Department of the Interior.

Hampton devotes the third and fourth chapters of the book to an analysis of the early administration of Yellowstone by Interior, finding it generally undistinguished and occasionally blundering, misguided, and corrupt. Generally, inadequacies resulted from ambiguities and omissions in the enabling legislation. Unfortunately the 1872 Act did not provide specific laws for governing the area or legal machinery to enforce rules promulgated by the Secretary of the Interior. Consequently, poaching, grazing, lumbering, and vandalism were major problems.

Beginning in 1875, various public and private figures suggested the United States Army provide protection, and in 1883 an amendment to the sundry civil bill authorized the Secretary of the Interior to request assistance from the Secretary of War when necessary. Necessity came in 1886, when Congress refused to appropriate funds to pay the salaries of park personnel. Military administration of Yellowstone began on August 20, 1886, and ended thirty-two years later. The War Department also provided the same protection to Sequoia, General Grant, and Yosemite National Parks, following their establishment in 1890.

Military administration resulted in the revision of rules and regulations and their enforcement, sometimes through extra-legal and often amusing means; the planning and construction of many of the present roads and trails; and the development of a number of basic management policies, such as fish stocking, live trapping, designated camping, and increased summer staffing. Also during this period, Congress finally enacted the punitive legislation needed to protect Yellowstone in perpetuity, and threats to the park from penetration by railroads dissipated and disappeared. Creation of proper legal machinery and increased military activity on the Mexican border and in Europe led to the withdrawal of troops from the parks, and in 1916 Congress provided for efficient civilian administration with the establishment of the National Park Service. Hampton tells the story with clarity and wit, citing a wide variety of published and manuscript sources and presenting his evidence in a thoroughly convincing and professional manner.

The author concludes the volume with a discussion of present National Park Service policies and practices, comparing them—sometimes unfavorably—with those developed in the late 19th century. The abrupt jump of a half-century to confront the present with the past may make some readers uncomfortable. Too, in the epilogue Hampton is not reticent in making judgments on how things ought to be done. While his judgments are always interesting and often sound, he occasionally shows a lack of understanding of the present governmental planning and decision making process.

While it is not mentioned in this volume, the United States Army also played a vital role in the preservation of some of the great historical areas of the National Park System, such as Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park (1890), Shiloh National Military Park (1894), and Gettysburg National Military Park (1896), which remained under military control until 1933. A study of the early administration of these and other areas would permit a fuller understanding of the contribution of the United States Army to the preservation of our heritage. Hopefully, someone with the skills and talents of Mr. Hampton will undertake to supply the added dimension.

The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California. By Alexander Saxton. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. x + 293 pp. $8.50.)

Reviewed by David Brody, *Professor of History, University of California at Davis, and author of* Labor in Crisis *and* Steelworkers in America.

From the discovery of gold until World War I, the history of labor in California was bound up with anti-Chinese agitation. Although no study of California labor in the 19th century can avoid that fact, the relationship has not been fully and thoroughly explored. Now Alexander Saxton has met that need in his excellent *The Indispensable Enemy*. Why was California labor so persistent and so venomous in its hostility to the Chinese? And what effect did this animus have on the history of California labor and the state labor movement? (The effect on the Chinese is a separate question not dealt with here.) The answers to these questions, elaborated and set in the broader history of California labor, form the substance of Saxton's study.

His analysis has several interwoven strands. Saxton perceives, first of all, a genuine economic basis for the hostility to Chinese workers, and he carefully delineates the line of conflict. From the days of placer mining and railroad building, the Chinese were relegated to the work considered beneath the dignity of white labor, and they never did compete with the aristocracy of California labor, the craft workers in the local-market industries. But there was some competition in the service trades, and the Chinese were strongly entrenched not only in menial occupations, but also in those California industries, such as cigar-making and clothing, that competed in a national market and so benefited from cheap labor. The white workers crowding into California after the Civil War coveted some of these jobs or, as in the case of the cigar workers, found themselves in direct competition with Chinese labor. During the rainy winter months, especially during the hard times of the mid-1870's and mid-1880's, large numbers of jobless whites congregated in the cities, and to them Denis Kearney and other sandlot orators made the greatest appeal. For the unemployed and the low-skilled, spreading out to those in the service trades and national-market industries, Saxton argues, powerful economic grievances fueled the animus against the Chinese.

The second strand of the analysis involves the noneconomic motivation behind labor's anti-Orientalism. Here Saxton is on more tenuous ground. He argues that the political ideas that white workers carried with them to California, particularly the ideas associated with the Democratic Party, pre-disposed them to an attack on the Chinese. Saxton makes his case shrewdly, but the argument is broadly gauged and lacking in evidence connecting the generalities to the specifics of labor thinking in California. On the other hand, Saxton does show concretely how the countering ideas, those connected especially with abolitionism and socialism, were easily overwhelmed in the flood tide of anticoolieism. Saxton is shrewd, too, in his notions about motivations deriving from frustrations specific to the California experience, among others, that it was the "end of the line" for fortune-seeking Americans. Saxton suggests, finally, the influence of California anti-Orientalism on the national trend of American labor in the 1890's and after to abandon the black man and to restrict the new immigration. The argument is plausible, but here, too, rather thinly supported. One wonders whether the venomous hatred against the Chinese did not in fact express a somewhat different variety of racism than that directed against the blacks (whose status in California actually advanced in this era) and recent immigrants. Saxton, however, does not explore or stress the roots of racism that might have been specific to the hatred of the Chinese.

If the noneconomic motives remain an open question, the consequences of anti-Orientalism for California labor seem clear. Above all, this meant a degree of political activism significantly beyond what labor experienced elsewhere in this era. Anti-coolieism gave political unity and direction to a labor force that would otherwise have been—as it was elsewhere—hopelessly fragmented and diffuse; this was translated, on the one hand, into a strong influence on the major parties and, on the other, into the creation of labor's own political institutions, beginning with the anticoolie clubs of the 1860's, then the formation of the Workingmen's Party in 1877, and ultimately Boss Ruef's Union Labor Party; and, finally, if anticoolieism made California labor politically potent, it served also to divert that power into a conservative mold and rendered it peculiarly susceptible to corrupt exploitation.

All this and more Saxton discusses in a book overflowing with ideas. Never in the face of puzzling events does he hesitate to venture a hypothesis. This is all to the good. But it also requires some caution on the part of the reader, who should be forewarned that where Saxton's argument is most arresting, it is also likely to be most hypothetical. Perhaps it should also be said that the book's title does not quite match what is between its covers: anti-Chinese sentiment was assuredly central to labor's experience in California, but hardly "indispensable" in any strict sense of the word.

Mukat's People, the Cahuilla Indians of Southern California. By Lowell John Bean. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972. 201 pp. $6.75.)

Reviewed by Thomas R. Hester, *Acting Assistant Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.*

In this book, Lowell Bean has provided a rather detailed ethnographic study of the Cahuilla peoples of southern California. Many of the data result from Bean's field work among the Cahuilla from 1959 through 1961. Since Cahuilla culture has not been adequately studied or described in the past, a straightforward ethnographic presentation alone would have made this a valuable book. However, Bean adds greater depth to the study by posing a series of hypotheses and problems which are then examined in the light of the Cahuilla data. Paramount among these problems is the debate over whether or not religious beliefs (rituals) and world view (folk beliefs) can be considered adaptive or nonadaptive in the effective utilization of the ecosystem by a culture. Throughout the book, Bean emphasizes the systems approach in his ethnographic discussion, establishing the role of the Cahuilla population as a member of a viable ecosystem.

The Cahuilla lived in a "multicultural and multienvironmental milieu." Bean notes their location in the midst of trade routes, and their interaction with neighboring peoples (especially the Gabrilenos). The major food resource areas of the Cahuilla are outlined (the Lower Sonoran zone significant for hunting, the Upper Sonoran providing the most plant foods). The technology of Cahuilla hunting and gathering is also related. Bean wisely devotes the first part of his book to a discussion of the local environmental situation. A diverse flora was available to the Cahuilla. The oak was the most valuable food-producing tree, and its importance is reflected in the development of strict proprietary rights and rituals. Although there was "tension" among the Cahuilla resulting from immediate concerns over food resources, it is Bean's belief that the environment was capable of providing sufficient foodstuffs over the long run. One aspect of Cahuilla food-processing technology, the use of stone-lined pits for roasting yucca, should have left recognizable archaeological remains. Major food animals for the Cahuilla included mule deer, mountain sheep, pronghorn, rodents and rabbits. Again, the archaeologist should take note of the fact that the Cahuilla crushed the bones of rodents and rabbits and consumed them in soups and mushes. Thus, there should be little evidence in the local archaeological sites of the exploitation of these small mammals, and this might give the unsuspecting archaeologist a quite biased view of subsistence patterns. Another intriguing bit of information for the archaeologist is that stone points of "various sizes and shapes *depending on the kind of game sought*" (italics mine) were used by Cahuilla hunters.

Very useful information is given regarding Cahuilla settlement pattern. These peoples occupied a territory covering 2400 square miles, and this was divided into twelve distinct areas claimed by the various sibs. Villages within these sib areas were occupied the year-round, during which time groups or individuals left the village for subsistence-related tasks or for visiting and trading. Movement of the village was caused by temperature extremes or by natural disasters. Villages were located in ecologically favorable locales.

In order to better define the Cahuilla as a closely related group, Bean (p. 85) coins the term "cultural nationality," and under this rubric he includes "persons speaking the Cahuilla language and recognizing a commonly shared cultural heritage." Two moities were present, and had as their basic function the regulation of marriage and ritual reciprocity. The latter was deemed essential to the survival of mankind and the ecosystem.

The overriding theme both of Bean's book and of Cahuilla society is the relationship of man and his culture to the environment. For example, Bean outlines the ecological advantages of the Cahuilla lineages, including long-term control over food resource areas. The head of the Cahuilla (*net*) was little more than an "economic executive" and certain shamans (*puul*) were supposed to have power to "create" food and control the weather.

Bean presents a good argument in support of his view that ritual and world view are adaptive elements of Cahuilla society. In one case, the *nukil* rituals (associated with the dead) lead to the exchange of goods, marriages, games and trade. First-fruit rituals stressed the economic rights of the various lineages. The most important social unit of the Cahuilla was the "ritual congregation," involving an elaborate network of reciprocal exchanges. Rituals guaranteed the distribution of animal foods during the winter when plant foods were scarce, and hunting rituals helped maintain the natural balance of the ecosystem through the culling of game animals. Philosophically, the Cahuilla saw man as an integral element of nature—"one of a number of cooperating beings." Thus, man had definite reciprocal roles: deer could be killed, but not overkilled, and the products provided by the deer could not be wasted. Reciprocity was clearly the overriding emphasis in Cahuilla society.

The Cahuilla recognized two creator beings. The elder of the two, *Mukat*, brought forth people who were perfect, while the younger creator, *Temayawet*, was careless when making his people. Given the values held by the Cahuilla and their philosophy regarding man's reciprocal relationship with his environment, we can easily guess the identity of their creator—and in examining the actions of our own society, there is little doubt who made us.

Mukat's People is a tightly-written and informative book, and was a great pleasure to read. Use of the book would have been facilitated through the addition of an index; this lack is compensated for to some extent by a detailed table of contents.

ERRATA: In the summer issue, 1972, of the California Historical Quarterly, Page 161, line 20, *for* Dr. Frank Clements read: Dr. George P. Clements. Page 164, line 20 *for* Dr. Frank Clements' read: Dr. George P. Clements'.

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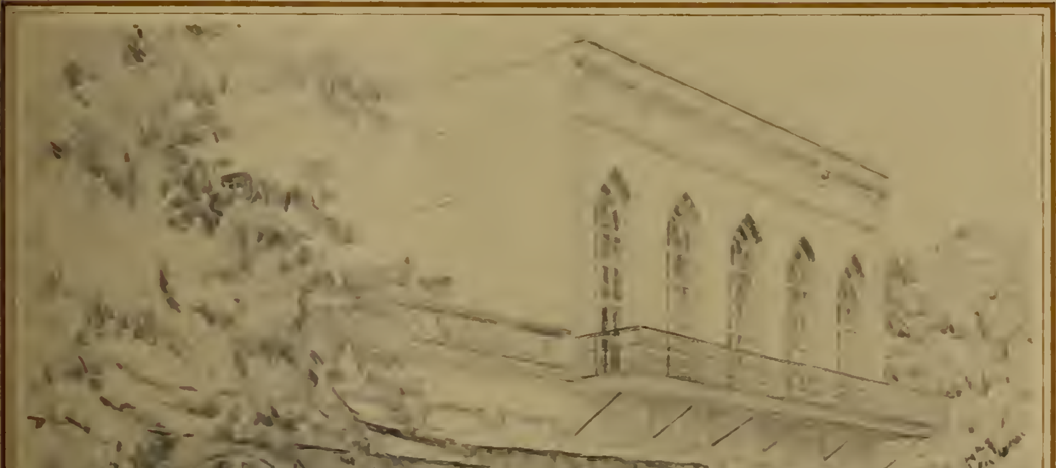

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California Architecture and Its Relation to Contemporary Trends in Europe and America

The chief characteristic of California architecture is colonialism. For more than two hundred years, successive waves of immigrants have domesticated in California the cultural conditions of the diverse nations and regions from which they emigrated. This is true of the Spanish who in the eighteenth century established those foundations which we celebrate on occasion and of the Americans who in the next century overwhelmed them. It is true as well of the northern Indians who carried their Siberian wood culture to the Pacific Coast in immemorial times and of the eastern-based architectural firms which are responsible for the important building in our own times. Wherever their place of origin, and however daring or innovative their natures generally may be, immigrants are always cultural conservatives, and no group among them is more tradition-bound than are the members of the building profession. As a consequence, California architecture is not, as legend so often has it, an organic representation of such regional conditions as the land, the climate, or native building materials. Rather it is a visual projection of the continuing world-wide immigration that today, as always, is the central fact of California culture.

American historians all too frequently assume that a new land necessarily means a new culture, or at least a radically transformed one. In this connection it is well to recall the statement regarding the paradoxical nature of the national culture made at mid-nineteenth century by the sculptor Horatio Greenough: "We forget that though the country was young, yet the people were old."[1] In the two centuries that concern us, California has been responsible for no new important building techniques; it has initiated no major architectural trends nor has it advanced any significant architectural theo-

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NOTE: By special arrangement with the Institute of American History at Stanford University, the California Historical Society is privileged to publish a series of papers prepared by nine distinguished historians and read before a conference celebrating California's bicentennial, held at Stanford in 1970. Some of the essays will be published first in the *Quarterly* and all will be issued by the Society next spring in a book entitled *New Perspectives on California History*. The series, introduced with two essays in the last issue, is carried forward with the following essay and Gerald D. Nash's interpretation of California's economic growth, beginning on page 315.

ries. With few exceptions, her noteworthy builders have been mature immigrants who, from generation to generation, have built in California from the memory of former places and in the manner of previously learned habits. As David Gebhard has truly written, "architecture as a fine art has only touched this environment in the lightest of ways."[2] Man adapts only by reason of necessity. In two hundred years there has been little effort to develop an architecture out of the California environment simply because there has been no need for such an effort. In so vast an area, encompassing as it does almost every possible terrain, climate, and material condition, and settled by people from almost every known race, nation, and region, it is inevitable that almost every conceivable building culture would be imposed upon the country and has flourished here.

The study of a colonial culture begins with the people who came. Elsewhere, I have discussed the national origins and professional backgrounds of architects who came to California in the nineteenth century. Happily for the model therein established, the same general pattern of northeastern American nativity and European training continues on in our own century. As is typical of colonists everywhere, few among the immigrant-architects responded creatively to the California environment. There are of course notable exceptions, such as Bernard Maybeck and Irving Gill, both of whom were born in New York and began their California practices in the early nineties. These designers happen also to be among the half-dozen most important architects to practice in California in the last two centuries, and cannot be taken as typical of the profession in anything excepting their high standards of training. On the contrary, the profession at large has always been distinguished by extreme colonialism. Indeed, the stature of a man within the ranks has traditionally been measured by the degree to which his work parallels, or more accurately follows, contemporary fashions in the eastern United States. In this California merely mirrors the national experience, for the eastern practitioners so consistently imitated on the Pacific Coast were themselves almost without exception followers of contemporary European trends.

The difference in architectural colonialism practiced everywhere in the United States vis à vis Europe is a question only of degree and time. Because the West Coast has traditionally received her European illuminations indirectly by way of Boston and New York, the cultural time lag in California is not only greater than that in the northeastern states but the resulting product is usually a twice-distilled essence. Occasionally the West Coast has bested the East in the race for European stylistic accommodation. A noteworthy instance was the introduction at mid-nineteenth century of Beaux-Arts Classicism by Ecole-trained immigrant-architects more than a generation before the style took hold in New York. A more typical example is the route by which the architecture of the New Brutalism arrived in California.

This still evolving and confused style originated in the post-World War II work of the Smithsons in England and Le Corbusier in France; it was established in the northeastern United States in the early Eisenhower years and first appeared in the West in 1960 with the design of Wurster Hall on the Berkeley campus of the University of California. The cultural lag in this case was approximately a decade. Through most of the nineteenth century, when California was a remote sea frontier and the means of stylistic transmission was either memory or pattern books, the cultural lag was likely to be a generation. But beginning in 1869 with the completion of the transcontinental railroad and the subsequent publication of American professional architectural journals, the lag was halved, as in the example of the New Brutalism. This same process was concurrently going on between the eastern seaboard and Europe, and the fact of California's architectural colonialism is less surprising when viewed against a continuing national colonialism. If only a handful of California architects have responded creatively to the environment, the record for the United States at large is proportionately hardly better.

Two basic building techniques have dominated California construction: the Mediterranean masonry and North European wood traditions. Taken together they encompass almost the entire range of architectural effort on the Pacific Coast in the last two hundred years and suggest the schizoid character of our building culture. Both techniques are colonial and each is identified with one of the several competing cultures which contested for control in California in her first modern century. Although the masonry tradition is generally associated with the southern part of the state and the wood tradition with the northern, they are not so simply localized. Nor is it easy to assign chronological priorities. Long before the masonry tradition was established in California by Franciscan missionaries, an offshoot of the Siberian wood culture was practiced by Indians in the extreme northern counties. Furthermore, in the period of the best mission building, the masonry tradition was aggressively challenged by a Russian colonial version of the same wood culture planted along the northern Sonoma coast. The American adaptation of the North European wood tradition also successfully challenged the adobe building culture at all points of contact south of San Francisco—particularly in the provincial capital of Monterey, where the superiority of American techniques was first demonstrated by New England merchants and seamen. With American annexation in 1846, the Mediterranean masonry tradition went into a half-century quietus, to be resurrected finally as a regional response to the national Colonial Revival that swept the country after the Philadelphia Centennial of 1876. But previous to this, and after a long and confused cycle of stylistic variations, the American frame tradition entered its most enduring and creative phase as the Shingle style, the regional response to which is sometimes called the San Francisco Bay Tradition. In discussing the relationship between architecture in California and contemporary trends in Europe and the northeastern United States, I will limit myself to the Mediterranean masonry and American wood building traditions and the immigrant-architects who practiced them in the period between maturation in the first half of the nineteenth century and the several revivals of these forms between 1890 and 1930.

Both the Mediterranean and North European building cultures reached California after prolonged stages of determined colonialism in Mexico and New England. In each case there was a minimum of adaptation to the New World environment and a maximum adherence to previously learned techniques and remembered styles. The masonry tradition introduced by Franciscans at San Diego subsequent to 1769 was a Mexican variant of a much earlier building legacy left to Spain by successive waves of Roman and Moorish colonizers. It was coincidental that this colonial offshoot was admirably suited to the coastal plains of Southern California, with their familiar lack of wood, water, and shade. The true cultural conservatism of the Spanish colonizers was shortly and tragically demonstrated, however, in their stubborn refusal to alter formerly mastered masonry techniques even in the face of the new and recurring phenomenon of earthquake. The only important concession made to the California environment by the Franciscan builders was an increased use of adobe brick in place of stone in architectural construction. But this did not represent a break with the inherited Mediterranean masonry tradition, for at the time of colonization the typical farm house in both Old and New Spain was constructed either of rubble stone or mud blocks. As a matter of fact, the results of Franciscan building in California were anticipated in an earlier experience in New Mexico, where, according to George Kubler, there was also "wood without tools to work it, stone without equipment to move it, and clay without kilns to fire it."[3] In each case the result was the simplification of inherited techniques and not material or structural invention.

In matters of style as well as technique, the Spanish-Mexicans proved to be severe conservatives. Despite the statement of Father Englehardt that the Franciscan builders drew their architectural inspiration directly from the land, every feature of the so-called California mission style owes its origin to Mexican models. Certainly the Franciscans' lack of professional architectural knowledge and the difficulty of recruiting skilled craftsmen accounts in part for the plain surfaces, the strongly scaled and abstract character of California mission architecture. Equally important, however, is the fact that at the time of colonization the Baroque movement, and especially its Churrigueresque phase, had already given way both in Old and New Spain to Neoclassical simplicity. As Kurt Baer has pointed out, Mexican Neoclassicism was particularly marked by a revival of Roman-temple forms, and this is evident in the best of the Spanish-Mexican work in California, such as the mission church at Santa Barbara, whose façade is taken from a plate in a Spanish edition of Vitruvius. The simplification in building techniques and the clarification of forms which distinguish Franciscan architecture in California does not therefore constitute a break with Mediterranean building traditions; rather it represents at once both the latest colonial version of a major European style as well as a reversion to the earliest Franciscan building in the New World.

The American version of the North European wood building tradition, introduced in California only slightly later than the Mediterranean masonry one, was also a product of several hundred years of determined colonialism. Investigations of the largely English-medieval origin of North American colonial architecture prove, as in the earlier experience in Mexico, that modifications were made with great reluctance and tended toward uniformity and simplification rather than innovation or invention. The wide variety of English medieval roofing techniques, for example, gave way uniformly in New England to shingles; the diversification in wall surfaces was reduced to common clapboards. Both these techniques have long histories in Old England and were particularly common in East Anglia, that region from which New England immigration in the seventeenth century so conspicuously flowed. But whereas in the Old World these forms were absorbed within a rich and diverse matrix, in the New World they became dominant, and gave to American colonial building a much remarked upon linearity and thinness which is sometimes extended beyond architecture to represent a national cultural characteristic. The American distillation of the English version of the North European wood tradition not only underwent several hundred years of material adaptation before it was introduced into California, but again like the Mexican example, it underwent stylistic simplification in the transition to the austere Greek phase of Neoclassicism. The resulting American wood frame model, already tightened, hardened, and simplified, proved to be an invincible importation. It not only conquered the architectural field in the decade preceding annexation but has continued to this day as the dominant building form on the Pacific Coast.

It is difficult to say which of the two competing colonial cultures in California embodied the staunchest architectural conservatism. The original area of settlement was in each case a matter of fortuity: the Spanish immigrated to the Andalusian-like southern coastal plains and the Americans to the forested regions from Monterey northward. But even if chance had not settled the several immigrant groups in an environment congenial to their cultures and accessible to traditional building materials, the outcome would have been predictable. For the Spanish who established remote outposts on the edge of the redwood forests built with adobe; the Americans, whether on the treeless plains of Los Angeles or the sandy wastes of San Francisco, reproduced just as stubbornly their traditional wood frame dwellings. Such determined colonialism is only partially explained by the state's wide range of material possibilities and the relatively primitive state of Indian building. A more relevant explanation lies in the long colonial experience of each of the immigrant peoples. The earlier history of the Spanish in Mexico demonstrates how little architectural adaptation took place even when, as in the example of the Aztecs, there was a sophisticated native masonry tradition and a highly skilled body of workers to draw upon. Nor, contrary to Frederick Jackson Turner, did the New World wilderness put the English colonists in "the log cabin of the Cherokee." Indeed, that celebrated frontier institution was a Scandinavian version of the North European wood tradition introduced into Delaware by Swedish colonists in the seventeenth century; its subsequent adoption by Creek Indians, for example, in the following century is one of the ironic footnotes of American cultural history.

The problem of colonialism and adaptation is illustrated in what may be taken as a regional complement to the eastern log cabin myth, that is the notion that the use of tar as a building material originated in California with the early discovery of the brea pits in Los Angeles and the asphalt deposits near Santa Barbara. Actually, asphalt in one form or another is among the most ancient construction materials known to man, and was especially common to the Mediterranean cultures. Nor were tar roofs unknown in Old England at the time of colonization, and they were constructed, although infrequently, in New England all through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is not probable, however, that many American builders in California were familiar at first hand with this kind of construction; at any rate, they were much slower to revert to the ancient technique than were the Spanish-Mexicans, whose asphalt-roofed adobes were remarked upon by New Englanders as early as 1829. The reason for this is that, again contrary to legend, the dwellings of the *Californios* were not roofed with Spanish tiles and, in the absence of an alternative such as shingles, they turned to the available tar deposits as a ready means of roofing. After shingle roofs became popular in California in the late 1830's, asphalt ceased to be widely used, and it was only in the mid-1850's that enterprising Yankees began its manufacture as a fire-preventive material. In the twentieth century the flat tar roof became an urban architectural phenomenon, especially associated in California with speculative row housing. Its ultimate inclusion within the vocabulary of both the Spanish and American builders suggests the largely accidental relationship existing in California between inherited building traditions and the extraordinary variety of climatic and material resources.

The Mexican and New England versions of the two traditional European building cultures reached maturity in California within a generation. The former is best exemplified by the fourth mission church at Santa Barbara, completed in 1815; the latter had its major development twenty years later when Thomas Oliver Larkin, U. S. consul in Monterey, began construction of his famous timber-framed, shingle-roofed, adobe-walled house. By this time, 1835, the mission establishments were largely deserted, and Franciscan influences in California were negligible. On the other hand, the American frame house was soon to begin its spectacular conquest of the West Coast building field. But before victory came compromise. In the brief melding at Monterey of the antithetical adobe and wood traditions we have a unique instance in California of an important accommodation by the competing colonial cultures. The reason for the compromise was a temporary limitation of labor and equipment that prevented the construction of a completely timbered dwelling. The result is known as the Monterey Colonial style. But excepting the use of adobe in exterior walls, Larkin's house embodied the typical architectural components of New England Neoclassicism as remembered by the builder from his boyhood home in Massachusetts.

A study of the graphic materials relating to California in the several decades following annexation reveals the architectural triumph of the American wood tradition. Whether one consults G. R. Fardon photographs of San Francisco, the anonymous daguerreotype panoramas of lesser coastal towns, or the Kuchel and Dressel lithographs of mining communities, all record the same white-painted frame houses, churches, schools, and courthouses with their hesitant touches of Greek or Gothic ornament. Exceptions to these modest buildings, which so remarkably resemble the village architecture of the northeastern United States of the previous generation, show up occasionally in the San Francisco photographs, and give elusive yet tantalizing evidence of the brilliant international immigration of 1849-50. Here are pictured not only those previously mentioned first monuments of Beaux-Arts Classicism in the United States, but early important examples of other Renaissance cognate styles. Someday, perhaps, scholars will deal worthily with the European authors of this little known gold rush architecture—with men such as the Belgian Peter Portois; William Patton, the associate of the English Gothicist Sir Gilbert Scott; the mysterious Victor Hoffman; the Scotsman David Farquharson, whose architectural library served as an education for a whole generation of San Francisco designers. For the most part, however, architecture in the fifties and sixties was decidedly out of date, reflecting the generational cultural lag persisting until at least 1869. It tells us much about the American past of the California pioneers but reveals little of the revolution in building that was going on in the eastern United States in the quarter-century that followed the construction of Larkin's prototype at Monterey. This was the phenomenon Vincent Scully has named the Stick style, and which in time developed into California's first urban architectural vernacular.

Although the Stick style derived ultimately from the picturesque phase of late-eighteenth century English Neoclassicism, architectural historians credit it as the first "uniquely American expression of timber form."[4] The earlier variants of the North European wood tradition which we have considered, such as the late English-medieval or even the Swedish log cabin, are indeed distinguishable from Old World prototypes, but they are not fundamentally different in material or construction. The Stick style, however, assumed a characteristically American cast by combining the recently developed light "balloon" frame construction with a simplified "Gothic-Swiss" stylistic formula. The philosophical basis of the style in Jacksonian democratic theory has often been remarked upon, and certainly the success of the movement in California resulted largely from the fact it gave the state its first mass urban architecture. The earliest American propagandist of the Stick style was the New York landscape designer Andrew Jackson Downing, who expounded his aesthetic and egalitarian theories in a series of pattern books published in the 1840's and 1850's. His principal regional disciple, Henry William Cleaveland, arrived in San Francisco in 1850 and six years later published his own *Village and Farm Cottages.* But Cleaveland's early work in California, so far as it can be identified, was wholly derivative, and it was not until the late 1870's that his important Stick designs were widely copied on the West Coast. By that time the style was hopelessly enmeshed in a fantasy of Second Empire, Queen Anne, and Eastlake components which can best be described as the Bay Window vernacular.

The development of this awesome vernacular required more than the breakdown of stylistic discipline resulting from a quarter-century of rapidly shifting imported building fashions. Specifically, there had to be the need for mass housing and the means of exploiting this need. San Francisco's population growth, which went unchecked since the gold rush, supplied the need; cooperative building associations and private speculators furnished the capital. And the architects stood ready with their designs. As was earlier remarked, the Stick style was as much a social as an architectural movement, dedicated, as one of its propagandists stated, to "The Toiling Millions, Whose Means are Small, yet Whose Desires are Great to possess a Home, where Industry and Contentment shall be household gods, and Independence be allied with Happiness."[5] This was underscored in Cleaveland's popular pattern book, which offered designs for cottages costing as little as $500. In an inflationary period such as our own, it is perhaps unkind to note that almost thirty years after the publication of Cleaveland's book, the Massachusetts-born educator John Pelton could still offer plans for cottages costing $500. But this was 1882, and the demand was then for urban housing, hence his most popular model was a two-story row house that could be constructed for under $1200. The acceptance of this and similar Stick prototypes by the Real Estate Association of San Francisco, which constructed many thousand such houses under long-term financing, was crucial in the creation of the vernacular.

In San Francisco's ebullient "Champagne Days" the Stick style acquired a Second Empire roof, sharply incised Eastlake ornament, and a helter-skelter surface of shingles and boards contemporaneously described as more Mary Anne than Queen Anne. This highly eclectic vernacular is generally dismissed as merely the architectural counterpart of a restless, confused, but supremely confident society. It is something more, however; something rare in California: the transformation, no matter how minimal, of colonial architectural forms as a result of regional environmental conditions. San Francisco, with its continually alternating fog and sunshine, is a city of strong contrasts. The light is flooding and the shadows deep. These conditions proved ideal for the propagation of Stick architecture, whose character depends upon shadows thrown across the surface by projecting structural members. It was the distinction of the San Francisco row house that no structural member (nor for that matter any non-structural one) was denied the privilege of projection. And in the regional vernacular the least inhibited projection was the bay window. These billowing sheets of glass, enclosed in whimsically ornamented frames and crowned with pierced entablatures and bracketed pediments, are to San Francisco of the 1870's and 1880's what brownstone was to an earlier New York. The bay window is not a native invention; indeed, it was specifically prescribed by Downing himself as a means of multiplying the range of contrast so essential to the style. But whatever the origin of the various components making up the Bay Window vernacular, their coming together in a genuinely regional juxtaposition gave California its first and most wondrous urban housing. The exuberance of this conglomerate style has found belated appeal to an increasing crowd of Neo-Victorians in revolt against the bleak dimensions of contemporary housing. At the time, however, Sir Charles Eastlake, whose designs were widely plagiarized in the development of the San Francisco row house, dismissed the vernacular as an "extravagant and bizarre burlesque." It was this; but it was also the best fun that architects have had in California in two centuries.

The cultural colonialism involved in this architectural fantasy is apparent: the Second Empire was a French importation; Queen Anne and Eastlake were but the latest obligations in the cultural debt owed to England by America. Of the three international styles that merged with the native Stick to create the Bay Window vernacular, only the Queen Anne will hold us further, for its transformation into the Shingle phase of the Colonial Revival profoundly influenced California architecture. The American roots of the Shingle style lie in the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Here, in the British government buildings, Americans were introduced to the shingled, half-timbered, Old-English cottage architecture that, for reasons still mysterious, was called Queen Anne; here also was the first serious reconstruction of a Japanese frame building, it, too, covered with small shingles; finally, both in the philosophy of the Exposition and in the New

England exhibit was the germ for that series of regional colonial revivals which practically delineate California architecture from 1890 to 1930. The specific psychological and material conditions which account for the national Colonial Revival do not concern us; it is enough to note that at the end of that age which historians have called "Gilded," the post-Civil War generation turned back to its American colonial past as a source for architectural inspiration. The national Colonial Revival brought Californians to a belated appreciation of the architecture of their own colonial past and to the realization, and eventual imitation, of the ruined Franciscan missions and the picturesque houses of the first New England settlers. Because the movement was national in origin, and reached California as part of her immigrant culture, the earliest manifestation was the eastern revivalist phase known as the Shingle type.

The Shingle style was carried to California after the usual ten-year cultural lag by a half dozen brilliant young men who together epitomize the exceptional standards pertaining in the western profession since the gold rush. The first Shingle stylist was Earnest Coxhead, who although only twenty-three when he arrived in 1886 was already a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects. Three years later Willis Polk and Bernard Maybeck appeared in San Francisco, the latter with the diploma of the Beaux-Arts in his pocket. In 1893 Irving Gill and Charles and Henry Greene came West in search of health: Gill from the Chicago firm of Adler and Sullivan; the brothers Greene from the school of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and a tour of Boston architectural offices. Every one of these men had experienced colonial architecture at first hand, and all were familiar with the Shingle style as developed in the East by Henry Hobson Richardson and Stanford White. Henry Greene worked several years in the Boston firm founded by Richardson; Polk served an apprenticeship in the San Francisco office of A. Page Brown, a former associate of White and himself an accomplished Shingle stylist. Together these men were the most distinguished architects to immigrate to California in two centuries. Ultimately they divided their loyalties equally between the northern and southern parts of the state: Coxhead, Polk, and Maybeck developed a regional version of the Shingle manner that has passed into nomenclature as the San Francisco Bay Tradition. In Pasadena the Greenes progressed from conventional renderings of eastern colonial form to a highly personalized statement that gave its only distinction to the ubiquitous California Bungalow. Finally, in San Diego, Gill discovered in the ruins of Franciscan architecture the inspiration for a brilliant synthesis of the second western phase of the Colonial Revival—the Mission movement.

Like all nineteenth-century offshoots of the Stick style, the Shingle depends upon the principle of opposition and contrast. Coxhead and Polk achieved contradiction by the traditional superimposition of over-scaled classical forms, such as Georgian door frames and Palladian windows, upon plain surfaces of rough-cut shingle. Bernard Maybeck juxtaposed a much wider historical vocabulary to the redwood vernacular, and did this in a highly personal and expressionistic manner. Maybeck was also exceptional in his romantic—almost medieval—sense of the totality of architecture, and his deep love of materials and profound respect for craftsmanship. More than any other Bay Traditionalist, Maybeck embodied the dramatically self-contradictory characteristics of the Shingle style. Although highly original in his use of the structural and decorative possibilities of materials, he was extremely eclectic, emotional, and unpredictable. His admirers, and they are deservedly many, have responded in kind by calling his work "creative eclecticism."

The material employed by all of these designers was native redwood, as it had been since the first shingles were cut north of San Francisco Bay in 1833. But the use of an indigenous material does not constitute a style. California redwood differs in composition from eastern fir in perhaps the same manner as her adobe soil differs from that of Mexico. Yet, neither in the case of the Mediterranean masonry nor the American wood traditions did regional building conditions radically alter imported architectural forms. The Bay Traditionalists took an already open plan and adapted it to the more informal pattern of western living; in conforming to regional climatic conditions, they extended an already free flow of space by largely eliminating the distinction between in-doors and out-of-doors. They did this by close planting and interior garden courts, by increasing the areas of glass, and cutting back or opening up sections of the wide eaves traditional to the Stick manner.

The fact there still is a Bay Tradition, despite the profound material and social changes which have transformed San Francisco since the Shingle style was domesticated there more than four generations ago, has led some writers to assume an indigenous architecture. The self-conscious character of the regional work, however, suggests that the Bay Tradition is not so much a response to environmental factors as a continuing restatement of what is now an exhausted and manneristic formula. As has been shown, the Bay Tradition did not deviate importantly either in form or material from the eastern models which directly inspired it. The inhibiting factors in this case are not simply the usual ones endemic to colonial cultures such as that of California. One must consider as well the overriding genius of the eastern masters who developed the style and the pragmatic character of the style itself which seemed at the time to hold infinite possibilities for variation and adaptation. Together these conditions forestalled originality among Shingle stylists everywhere in the United States. It is under such comparative conditions of national imitation that the Bay Tradition assumes its deserved distinction. But whether or not one labels the works of the northern California Shingle stylists Bay Tradition, the fact is that this highly sophisticated building is largely a provincial ordering of a well-established eastern formula.

The transformation of the eastern Shingle style into a regional vernacular was the work of Southern California building speculators wholly alien to the standards of civility implicit in the Bay Tradition. Their creation, the "California Bungalow," was the state's first major suburban vernacular. The bungalow, like everything architectural in California, was imported. The term, an Anglicization of the word "Bengali," tells the origin in the temporary or seasonal dwellings used by colonial administrators in the British East. The characteristics that account for the bungalow development in India and Ceylon, the maximum circulation of air by means of raised foundations and constant shade derived from wide verandas, along with ease and cheapness of construction, assured its success in California. Exactly when the bungalow first appeared on the West Coast is not as easily determined as is its colonial nature. In 1895 the *American Architect* published an authentic "Indian Bungalow" designed for San Francisco's peninsula by A. Page Brown, who came to California from the New York office of McKim, Mead and White in the great architectural immigration of the late 1880's and early 90's. But this was an isolated example of what was regarded regionally as an exotic building form. It was not until 1903, when Charles and Henry Greene, having finally sloughed off their Queen Anne clichés, designed a redwood house around a patio for Arturo Bandini in Pasadena, that the vernacular took hold. Bandini believed the California bungalow represented a modern version of the dwellings of his Spanish-Mexican forebears; others hold it to be the final phase of the nineteenth-century American wood tradition first domesticated at Monterey by Thomas Oliver Larkin and subsequently vernacularized by successive waves of Yankee immigrants.

The Greene brothers, liked Bernard Maybeck, were masters in the elaboration and personalization of earlier techniques. Indeed, they followed so closely the eastern tradition of picturesque wood construction begun by Andrew Jackson Downing that their work has been called variously Neo-Stick or Western Stick style. Implicit in both these categorizations is the fact that the work of Charles and Henry Greene represents an end—not a beginning—in the long tradition of creative experimentation with wood forms that started in the 1840's as an American reaction to late-eighteenth century English picturesque classicism. The Greenes' loose, "unemphatic" planning was a direct outgrowth of the spatial freedom achieved by the early Shingle stylists; their use of materials, even their penchant for Japanese construction and motifs, stemmed directly from ideas generated by the Philadelphia Centennial and, for Californians, reinforced at the Midwinter Fair held in San Francisco in 1894. Although the Greenes created a number of beautiful houses, their work has probably been even more overrated than that of the Bay Traditionalists. Unfortunately, too, their sensitive designs, executed with the finest craftsmanship, were taken over wholesale by bungalow-book writers and contractor-builders and transformed into a shoddy suburban vernacular. In the first two decades of this century, entire streets, even whole sections of cities, were covered with self-consciously rustic bungalows more marred than charmed by the crude touches of oriental, Art Nouveau, or Arts and Crafts detailing reluctantly allowed by their jerrybuilders.

Earlier it was remarked that the Shingle style was the first architectural manifestation of a national movement of discovery growing out of the Philadelphia Centennial. In their search among the remote villages of New England for an architectural symbolism to match the concurrent literary and historical reinterpretations of American colonial culture, the eastern revivalists found their models in ancient weathered houses whose somber façades were dramatized by carved gables or portals overhung with massive pediments. In the conservative tradition of building, this largely seventeenth-century architecture was crossed with the American Stick style and the English Queen Anne to create the famous Shingle vernacular. As the search for a colonial past continued, designers inevitably revived academic building forms from the late-eighteenth century as well, and these, too, in time, reached California. But this phase of the national Colonial Revival failed to take hold on the West Coast. Its sterile historicity was rightly judged incongruous to the glare, newness, and rush of western living. Anyway, the Californians were uncertainly discovering that they had a past of their own. As one of them put it, "Give me neither Romanesque nor Gothic; much less Italian Renaissance, and least of all English Colonial—this is California—give me Mission."[6] The regional transformation of the national Colonial Revival into a native movement at the end of the nineteenth century signaled the return of the long banished Mediterranean masonry tradition.

In the opinion of David Gebhard the two Hispanic revivals that dominated California architecture after 1890 should be considered as one movement rather than, as is traditional, separated under the rubrics Mission and Spanish Colonial. Only by giving these Mediterranean offshoots unity of treatment, writes Gebhard, "can [one] understand these seemingly divergent architectural forms . . . as representing a single and coherent statement—an architectural statement which strongly influenced the various *avant garde* movements which [subsequently] developed in California."[7] There is much to be said for this point of view, particularly if one regards the entire movement as a revival of California's Mediterranean building tradition and not merely a set of stylistic sequences. However, as the Mission and Spanish Colonial phases are distinct, with very little overlapping either in time or personality, it is convenient to continue the traditional labels—bearing in mind that the revival of Mediterranean building forms at the end of the nineteenth century is of importance to us primarily as a regional manifestation of national, or even international, architectural trends.

A long gulf divided the desire of Californians for a colonial past and the discovery of the architectural sources which might give it validity. Six years after the national Colonial Revival was launched in Philadelphia, a group of Californians, reacting against a century of European and northeastern American architectural colonialism, issued an appeal for a native style shaped by "its fitness for the purpose for which it is to be erected" and "the locality where it stands."[8] But though the San Franciscans celebrated the centennial of the founding of Mission Dolores in the same year that they discovered the New England exhibit at Philadelphia, the Mission Revival was ten years getting under way. The problem was simply that there was very little Spanish-Mexican architecture in California to discover. The gradual evolution of the English Queen Anne style toward an American colonial architecture, which so facilitated the work of the eastern revivalists, had no western counterpart, and the Californians were faced with the fact that, excepting some poor adobe cottages, the only architectural evidence of a Mediterranean past were the isolated ruins of the Franciscan missions. To see in these disintegrating monuments the possibility of a regional revival was the genius of the New Englander, Charles Fletcher Lummis, editor of *Land of Sunshine*, who spoke for the architects as well as the Southern Pacific Railroad when he wrote that the missions "are worth more money, are a greater asset to Southern California, than our oil, our oranges, or even our climate."[9]

Paradoxically, the Mission Revival as an architectural movement began in Northern California with the Shingle stylist Willis Polk, who in 1887 published a sketch for a "Mission Church of Southern California Type." It was another Bay Traditionalist, A. Page Brown, who brought the movement to national attention with his design for the California Building at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. By that time a handful of Southern California architects, chief of whom was the propagandist Arthur Benton, had begun to translate Lummis's philosophy into railroad stations, inns, schoolhouses, and business blocks (but ironically not churches) whose mastic surfaces and cast iron tile roofs mocked rather than imitated the work of the Franciscan builders. As in the case of the Shingle style before it, the Mission craze was taken up by the Craftsman movement and converted into another bungalow vernacular—this time with even more deadly results. What finally killed the movement was boredom. The mission idea was as alien to twentieth-century California as adobe construction was to twentieth-century technology. Without functional or material integrity, the revival fell back upon theatrics and spawned a host of so-called Moorish, Venetian, Islamic, and Hopi sub-styles, each of which, if possible, was more degraded than the other. Irving Gill, who loved the missions for their structural honesty and aesthetic austerity, wrote: "It is safe to say that more architectural crimes have been committed in their name than in any other, unless it be the Grecian temples."[10] Yet, were it not that Gill had some connection with the movement, this first phase of the attempt to revive Mediterranean building forms in California would be dismissed as an architectural banality.

The Mission Revival was generally rejected by the important designers of the time as an anachronistic source for twentieth-century architecture. An exception was the San Diego designer Irving Gill, who, although not properly a Mission Revivalist, found in the Spanish-Mexican colonial architecture of Southern California the inspiration for a personal version of the international movement known as Rationalism. Like his exact contemporaries, the Greenes of Pasadena, Gill practiced for more than a decade in various orthodox eastern styles before his work showed any important regional influences. Then, around 1907, he began to design structures in the most advanced technology which were also beautifully integrated into the past. As Esther McCoy has written, Gill was "a romanticist whom time has shown to be a realist." This realism, combined with respect for materials learned in an apprenticeship with Louis Sullivan, separated him from the Southern California Mission Revivalists. Whereas they despised technology, Gill used it as a high art—adapting the most advanced methods of cast concrete to structural purposes with the same integrity that he utilized Franciscan forms in design concepts. The famous question as to whether or not Gill's ideas of structure and design derived ultimately from the Viennese purist Adolf Loos is beyond my competence to resolve. However, the controversy is important to us as suggestive, once again, of the international cross-currents always operative in California as a result of continuing cultural colonialism. As an easterner trained in the Midwest with a profound interest in American technology and European stylistic developments, Gill seems to epitomize the California immigrant-architect of the last century. He is conspicuously separated from the historical western profession, however, by reason of his genius. Gill's work may be the best yet done in California. At any rate, it is a hostage against all the failures of the Mediterranean Revival and stands, with that of Bernard Maybeck, as rare testimony to the creative possibilities for architecture inherent in this land and culture.

The Mission movement was California's second response to the national Colonial Revival. But unlike the brilliant success achieved by the Shingle stylists working in eastern architectural forms in San Francisco and Pasadena, the Mission Revivalists failed to create a viable synthesis of past and present. The successor movement, the Spanish Colonial Revival, also originated in an international exposition—this one held in San Diego in 1915 to commemorate the completion of the Panama Canal. The San Diego Exposition was typically an exercise in colonialism. Bertram Goodhue, whose New York office designed most of the buildings, claimed that he secured the commission by reason of his studies of Spanish colonial architecture in Mexico. Faithful to the books of photographs from which he made his own elaborate renderings, Goodhue introduced the Churrigueresque style into California—even though one hundred years earlier the Franciscans had rejected it in favor of Neoclassicism. Outside the exposition grounds, however, Mexican religious architecture proved even more alien to twentieth-century building requirements than had the California missions. But Goodhue had other books, and from these he selected the Andalusian and Mexican farmhouses which are the real sources of the Spanish Colonial Revival. The fact there was no proper Spanish colonial architecture in California other than the discredited missions was not a problem to the revivalists. As Herbert Croly said, there was a "spiritual similarity" between the Renaissance tradition and the church architecture of the Mediterranean countries; it was the realization of this spirit, he maintained, that motivated the Franciscan builders in California. Such rationalizations aside, the sources of the Spanish Colonial Revival were pictorial plates, and from the year of the San Diego Exposition until 1930, a host of new style pattern books were published to acquaint Southern California designers with what were alleged to be the ambitions of the mission fathers.

For our purposes the most interesting of these sources is architect Richard Requa's *Old World Inspiration for American Architects*, published in 1929. Requa not only gave in his title a terse summation of one hundred and sixty years of California architectural colonialism but conveniently included among his Spanish models a handful from England—the other major European source for western building traditions. Requa also returns us to the chief inspirational occupation of regional designers in the last several centuries: the perusal of architectural publications. The Franciscans who first introduced Mediterranean masonry techniques in California built from plates in Vitruvius; the Stick stylists popularized the American wood tradition through the pattern books of Downing and Cleaveland. Their present-day successors, whether subscribing to the New Brutalism of England and France or the Skidmore, Owens and Merrill syndrome of New York, continue to build in California from pictorial references in professional books and magazines.

To summarize, I have presented the historical facts of the relationship between California architecture and contemporary trends in Europe and America wholly in terms of the immigrant-designers who worked within the Mediterranean masonry and American wood building traditions. This admittedly limited construct presents my interpretation of several hundred years of architectural effort. Although we may differ as to the aesthetic quality of California building in the successive periods of Spànish, Mexican, and American domination, we can, I hope, agree upon its colonial character. Certainly there is more to California architecture—and California culture—than the characteristic of colonialism. An immigrant culture necessarily represents the interaction between imported ideas and the challenge of a new environment. In California, however, the force of environment has been blunted by diversity and a seemingly infinite capacity for accommodation. This, together with a continually accelerating immigration, has resulted in the persistence of colonial forms to a degree hardly matched in the United States. Santayana's observation that the distinct characteristic of immigration is social radicalism and cultural conservatism truly defines the California architect through almost ten generations. He wanted a new life, yes, but he wanted it in the only setting he could culturally understand—the one he left behind; hence, the one he must reproduce.

If nothing else, my perhaps relentless emphasis upon colonialism has suggested how much remains to be known about every aspect of California architecture other than its national and international antecedents. For example, what are the psychological and social factors which gave the Shingle style its sense of fitness and long ascendency in the San Francisco Bay region? To what extent does the bungalow reflect the mediocrity of life in Southern California, with its desperate perpetuation upon a booming wasteland of the supposedly rural values of a largely midwestern immigration? How faithfully does architecture reveal the extraordinarily exploitive character of California society? Or its pluralism or mobility or impermanence? Is there a correlation between the make-believe character of much of California building in the last half-century and the unreality of contemporary social and political ideas? In a broader sense we can ask whether or not what we have found in architecture can be extrapolated to the entire range of California culture: to art, literature, music, learning, and so on. The answers to these questions lie in future scholarship, and we can hope that they will be forthcoming. Up until now, however, there has been little opportunity for serious cultural stock-taking; all that we have been able to do is glance at the evidence and wait for the next wave of immigrant culture to break. If my summation of the architectural components of this forever-coming-into-being-culture has been something of a negative catalogue, that does seem to be the nature of California culture.

NOTES

1. Horatio Greenough, *Form and Function* (Berkeley, 1962), 52.

2. David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *1868-1968: Architecture in California* (Santa Barbara, 1968), 3.

3. George Kubler, *The Religious Architecture of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs, 1940), 131.

4. Vincent J. Scully, *The Shingle Style* (New Haven, 1955), 1.

5. Charles P. Dwyer, *The Economic Cottage Builder* (Buffalo, 1856), unnumbered page.

6. *Architect and Engineer*, LXXIX (Oct. 1924), 78.

7. David Gebhard, "The Spanish Colonial Revival in Southern California (1895-1930)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVI (May 1967), 132.

8. *California Architect and Building News*, III (Feb. 1882), 29.

9. Quoted in Franklin Dickerson Walker, *A Literary History of Southern California* (Berkeley, 1950), 132.

10. Quoted in Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1780* (Cambridge, 1969), 216.

11. Esther McCoy, *Five California Architects* (New York, 1960), 61.

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Hot Summer in the Sierra: An Early Contest for Resource Rights at Lake Tahoe

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THE "LAKE OF THE SKY," Lake Tahoe in the high Sierra Nevada, has frequently been a geographical focal point of public controversy. Complex and acrimonious disputes have resulted from attempts to balance demands for development of natural resources with desires to preserve the natural beauty and recreation values of the California-Nevada lake basin. In the summer of 1920, one episode of the intricate and on-going drama featured a contest over the use of Tahoe's water for irrigation *v.* recreation purposes. Involved in the creation and eventual settlement of the disputes were parties with historic prerogatives in water usage, a new federal reclamation project with heavy demands for water from the lake's outlet, and lumber companies which operated in the basin's tree-clad hills. Legal actions and controversies, national Congressional action, and innumerable intangible attitudes displayed throughout the altercation reflected the basic contradiction between goals of preservation and exploitation.

The 1920 dispute had historical precedents. In 1870, the Donner Lumber and Boom Company, led by Leland Stanford and Mark Hopkins, received from the California legislature a statutory permit to control the outlet to Lake Tahoe. The act gave the corporation the right to establish a dam at the source of the Truckee River near Tahoe City and to "improve" the river's channel. An improved channel would allow the company to float timber down from the lake to the company's sawmills at Truckee, California, and the dam would help to control the channel flow for efficient use by the tree harvesters. The Donner Lumber and Boom Company agreed to pay $25,000 a year for its twenty-year rights.[1]

Soon after the company received its franchise, preservation interests were awakened to the natural beauty of the region by the publication of Mark Twain's *Roughing It* (1871). Twain's description of the great lake and the surrounding countryside reached heights of poetic rhetoric seldom duplicated, and the Tahoe region became thereby known as a region worthy of being protected from rapacious business exploitation.

Nevertheless, after the Donner Company's rights expired in 1890, the dam continued to be used for regulating the Truckee River's flow for the convenience of downstream water users, mainly a series of electric power plants between Truckee, California, and Reno, Nevada. By such use, the dam attained a permanent status in the area.[2]

In 1900, Senator William Morris Stewart of Nevada attempted to exert conciliatory leadership between factions of preservationists and resource users. He introduced legislation in Congress "to set apart certain lands in the States of California and Nevada as a public park and forest reservation, to be known as the Lake Tahoe National Park, and for other purposes." Recognizing the other side's demands, one section of the bill dedicated surplus waters from the lake for downstream agriculture.[3] This reasonable plan failed to win acceptance, however, for the national political and economic climate favored increased industrial use of resources. Even though some sections of the lake basin had been completely logged off by that time, it was believed that valuable lumber in apparently inexhaustible quantities should not lie idle.

Meanwhile, the Donner Lumber and Boom Company had passed to the heirs of the original incorporators. In 1903, these successors attempted to renew their rights to the Truckee River's water by demanding payments from the operators of the power plants along the river. After a great deal of bickering and threatened lawsuits, the Fleishhacker utility interests, which owned two of the electrical installations along the stream, purchased the dam and a fifty-four acre plot of land at the lake's outlet to the Truckee River for $45,000.[4]

Meanwhile, the United States Reclamation Service, created by the Newlands Act of 1902, began to assert power in the region. Apparently Service representatives believed the Fleishhacker deeds to be defective, and so they also purchased the ground at the outlet of Tahoe—for $7,500—and announced their intention to build a new dam and spillway. The purpose of this dam was to raise the lake's level by several feet and thereby create a vast storage reservoir for downstream irrigation, specifically for the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project (later the Newlands Project) near Fallon in Nevada's Churchill County. A contract was let, and men and equipment began the work on the project, only to be stopped by an injunction obtained by E. J. "Lucky" Baldwin and Lloyd Tevis, lakeside property owners and Fleishhacker allies.

Subsequently, eastern capitalists, including the Boston firm of Stone and Webster, gained title to the power plants on the Truckee. Then the Stone and Webster company demanded and received from the Reclamation Service the right to use water from the river, control the Tahoe outlet and an improved dam, and make such storage as they saw fit, "subject to no charge and to no control."[5]

Lakeshore residents and the Reclamation Service continued to dispute the beneficial uses of the lake's water. Meanwhile, at the Truckee-Carson Irrigation Project, the thirsty developing farmlands required an ever-increasing volume of the Truckee's flow. In 1911, the persistent harangue over Tahoe's waters so frightened California legislators that they passed a law preventing diversions from the Truckee and the lake by Nevadans. Again, in 1913, California enacted a similar bill.[6] The farmers of the project area had developed some small agricultural businesses, including feed grinding mills, sugar beet cultures, and truck gardens, and this legislation particularly irritated them, for they had difficulties in cultivating their poor lands, even without constant conflict over water.[7]

The Tahoe struggle reached the House of Representatives in 1912. Congress ordered an investigation of conflicting claims between farmers, power companies, lake resort owners, and the Reclamation Service. The inquiry solved no outstanding problems, however, partly because the investigators were evidently biased in favor of the electrical interests. They erroneously claimed, for example, that the power companies wanted orderly regulation of the Truckee River's flow, while farmers demanded the entire year's runoff within a few months of the irrigation season.[8] The report also contained a plea for more reservoir sites in the Truckee watershed and for expanded power development along the river.

A year later, in 1913, the Reclamation Service began a suit which resulted in a consent decree in 1915. For $139,000, the government received from the Truckee River General Electric Company (the Stone and Webster subsidiary) a perpetual easement in the dam and the works at the outlet of the lake and agreed, in return, to maintain the river's flow for the benefit of the power company. The Reclamation Service also gained the right to store a limited amount of water in the lake and release it as needed for downstream use.[9] In years of adequate snowfall and runoff, the decree was fairly satisfactory to all parties; in a dry season, the results were near chaos. This was the case in 1920.

The winter of 1919-1920 disappointed those who hoped for heavy rains and snows. Early in the year Newlands Project residents knew that their hopes for high returns from crop sales were virtually doomed. They began to look for sources of water to supplement the meager flow of the two little rivers that served the irrigation project; naturally, their eyes turned to Tahoe.

The proper use of Lake Tahoe was a subject which predictably excited controversy. The blandest suggestion for increased use of lake water met the wildest rebuttals. Lakeside property owners were particularly vociferous in guarding their rights. Proposals to raise or lower the water level brought forth speeches, legal briefs, and letters to newspapers. In the spring of 1919, for example, the Newlands Project residents and the Stone and Webster concern had proposed using the lake to store some six feet of water (as opposed to the then four-foot maximum). The six-foot reserve would have added 240,000 acre feet for the benefit of the Churchill County farmers. In

Beautiful Lake Tahoe, here pictured with the legendary steamer *Tahoe* (1896-1940) making her rounds, has been the object of intermittent controversy between conservationists and developers for a hundred years.

response, the Bliss resort owners (and former timber dealers) at Tahoe issued strong statements opposing the use of the lake for additional irrigation storage on the basis that "the great lake cannot be used for an artificial purpose without nullifying its value as a pleasure resort."[10]

Another typical interchange transpired in January, 1920, between the director of the Reclamation Service, Arthur Powell Davis, and California property owner Henry F. Droste. Droste protested a rumored plan to drive a tunnel into the bottom of the lake and drop the water level 100 feet, which would provide water for Truckee River power plants and irrigation for an increased amount of acreage on the Newlands Project. Davis responded that no such plans existed, but Droste remained adamant in energetic opposition to any tampering with the lake and to any expansion of the irrigation project. This crossfire ran over two columns in a Fallon, Nevada, newspaper.[11]

After the disappointingly dry winter, the Reclamation Service, in April, 1920, proposed to cut into the "rim" of Lake Tahoe to tap the waters for the Newlands Project. This time the plan met opposition from the Bliss and Hobart resort interests at Tahoe on the basis that their facilities would be damaged by lowering the water, and the Reclamation Service was refused permission.[12]

By July, with crops dying in the fields of Churchill County, the request became more insistent. The Truckee-Carson Irrigation District (TCID) board of directors appealed to the Interior Department to allow incising of the lake's rim and irrigating of the Truckee downstream area with the top two feet of lake water.[13] Later the same month the desperate farmers assumed control of the situation and visited Tahoe water owners in an attempt to persuade them to release some of the precious fluid. Spirited discussion took place as TCID farmers advanced utilitarian theories (the greatest good for the greatest number) and resort owners refused to budge from a "hands off the lake" stand determined by devotion to beauty and tourism. Each side concluded that the other's argument was based only on a selfish desire for profit. An editorial in a Fallon paper called the Tahoeites "dogs in the manger," while resort owners responded that the farmers represented "rapacious interests" who would see "sapphire tinted Tahoe . . . disappear."[14]

The lakeside property owners' fears that they would lose the lake had some basis in fact. During the summer of 1919, the Reclamation Service had employed engineers and lawyers in an attempt to purchase "flowage rights" from all shoreline landholders. R. M. Patrick, assistant district counsel for the Reclamation Service, received instructions to submit lists and property descriptions of all title holders in the Placer County-Tahoe area. The purpose of this investigation was to aid in preparing condemnation suits "in connection with storage rights needed in Lake Tahoe."[15] Similar lists were prepared for all lakeside properties at Tahoe the same year.[16] By March, 1920, at least three purchases of flowage rights on Tahoe's north shore had been consummated, all for several hundreds of dollars.[17] Whether the property owners had valid title to the waters that washed their beaches was apparently not questioned.

The summer's controversy between resort owners and farmers culminated on July 30, 1920, in a meeting at Reno between Tahoe residents, TCID representatives, and the Reclamation Service. Arguments at the forum opened old wounds and created new bitterness; they also revived the historic conflict between promoters of beauty and advocates of resource use. Participants in the meeting included Reclamation Service Director Arthur P. Davis, Newlands Project manager John F. Richardson, Nevada State Engineer James G. Scrugham, and Governor of Nevada Emmet D. Boyle. Federal government delegates came from the Army Corps of Engineers and the Justice Department. A large group of men from Tahoe resorts completed the company.

The debate between resort owners and those pleading the farmers' cause grew unpleasant. A spokesman for the Tahoe people declared that his constituents would deal only with individual farmers and would not be bound by any agreement with any government agency—specifically the Reclamation Service. His statements so irritated Director Davis that he twice flung veiled accusations of "liar."

Then, witnesses at the hearing drew on their memories to recite the history of spoliation at Tahoe. They told stories of the rape of the forest lands in the basin and of the dumping of sawdust into the lake by lumbermen which resulted in large kills of fish. Governor Boyle, supporting the farmers, reminded the audience that the resort owners' ancestors had been responsible for the damage, that "it was the forebears of the protesting Californians, who now want Tahoe to remain undefiled and untarnished, who thus despoiled the thing they now cherish." Boyle also recalled that his father, a Nevada state senator, had at one time suggested pushing a tunnel into the mountain lake 100 feet below the surface, thus to obtain water for Virginia City's residents. "To the Nevada legislature's infinite credit, my father's petition was denied," Boyle observed, "but the father of the present Mr. Bliss . . . was the man responsible for the removal of the timber around the lake, an act just as predatory as the one proposed by my father."[18]

In further support of the farmers, State Engineer Scrugham refuted claims by the Tahoe people that the farmers proposed to drain the lake. They only wanted their "just due," he pleaded. Estimates of the water needed were then between .3 of an inch and two inches, an amount that would send about 12,000 acre feet down the Truckee. Scrugham also explained that one cause of the water shortage was that debris had been allowed to accumulate at the site of the old dam which inhibited the Truckee River's flow from the lake. He suggested that at least the obstructions could be cleared and warned that unless this were done, "the bar will increase year by year and will finally entirely obstruct the flow." He proposed finally that an impartial board determine the true rim and level of the lake.

Other experts testified in the same vein for the farmers. Giving an historical basis to his case, Director Davis stated that clearing the channel would return the lake's level and the river's flow to the 1913 status. He also endorsed the request for an impartial adjudication of the lake's altitude.

Following the engineers and water experts, several Churchill County farmers related their hardships in the thirsty season, declaring that their crops had burned in the hot desert sun for lack of irrigation. One individual estimated the damage at more than $50,000 and warned that failure to obtain irrigation water would result in another $100,000 loss; others put the possible damage at more than twice that amount.

Finally, Project Manager John Richardson warned that there was enough water in Churchill County's Lahontan reservoir to turn the power turbines for only another week. After that, the plant would be idle, all electric motors would be stilled, and householders would need to resort to kerosene for lighting.[19]

Following the heated July 30 meeting at Reno, the Secretary of the Interior ordered the clearing of the Truckee River channel—but not the trimming of the lake's rim—to allow some of the water to reach the Newlands Project farms. Residents of the Newlands Project hoped that the benefits from this work would at least include electric power, since the turbines at Lahontan reservoir had, as feared, been shut down for lack of water to turn them. The work was performed under the vigilant supervision of a committee of lakeside property owners who feared the desperate farmers would yet sever the lake's edge.[20]

All the action in the Sierra Nevada received nationwide attention and comment. The *Saturday Evening Post* carried an article defending the lakeshore residents in their attempts to preserve Tahoe's beauty. The *Post* author also noted the alliance of farmers and utility executives in the quest for Tahoe water:

> It looks all right to use water for power before it goes to irrigation, . . . but much of this water is delivered for power at times of the year when it is not used for irrigation, instead of being stored against the need, and runs down hill and is wasted. That's why . . . I do not believe the interests involved, after twelve years of repeated attempts, have suddenly seen the light. . . .[21]

The same author declared the farmers more selfish than the resort operators, offering his observations of the uses of the lake:

> In the course of [the] controversy . . . certain power interests and reclamation officials tried to rouse public sentiment by the statement that the millionaires of Lake Tahoe were trying to keep the waters from the poor farmer. There may be millionaires,

> but it seems to me that Lake Tahoe is used by more people of limited means than any other similar place. . . .[22]

The Newlands Project spokesmen, editor of the Fallon *Standard*, declared the piece "propaganda pure and simple" but did not answer the charge that the farmers were cat's-paws for the utilities.[23] The same editor had rather more violent comments to direct to the Tahoe men, suggesting that perhaps a dose of Kentucky-style night-riding might bring them to their senses. He continued:

> Crops have gone to ruin in this . . . area because it pleases a select bunch of Lake Tahoe resort owners to thus decree. Homes, happiness, and prosperity mean nothing to them, yet it may be well for them to bear in mind that men have killed when their stock ranges were despoiled; that self-preservation is nature's first law and that the red-blooded head of a family will not meekly sanction a situation wherein his home building efforts are set at naught. The present situation is intolerable. . . . The results that may attend here in the event California people have their own sweet pleasure served in the Lake Tahoe matter are certainly ominous and . . . fraught with consequences that cannot be foretold.[24]

In late August, the summer's drought ended, but it ended badly in the short run. A sudden storm brought nearly two inches of rain which soaked grain which was ready for threshing and hay in shocks. The record rainfall caused other damage over the area; roads became impassable, roofs formerly not tested proved leaky. The sole beneficial effect of the rain was that the power plant at Lahontan could operate again; it gave Fallon its first stable electricity in some two or three weeks.[25]

In the longer view, the result of the summer's conflict was to initiate discussions leading to more realistic agreements about Tahoe and Truckee River waters. In 1926, a temporary order in the case of *United States* v. *Orr Water Ditch Company* was issued for a preliminary adjudication of the lake and stream question. The dam at Tahoe's outlet remained at its original six-foot height, which allowed storage of irrigation water and a flow of 3,000 cubic feet per second down the river to the Newlands Project farms. The order became permanent in 1944, giving the Truckee-Carson Irrigation District claim to some 720,000 acre feet of storage in the lake and setting Tahoe's altitude at a constant level.[26] With this settlement, resort operators, farmers, power companies, and preservers of Tahoe's scenic marvels, while not completely satisfied, might agree that each had benefitted from the events of the hot summer of 1920.

NOTES

1. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, U. S., 62 Cong., 2 sess., 1912. H. Doc. 451, pp. 8-9.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

3. *Congressional Record*, U. S., 56 Cong., 1 sess., Vol. 33, part 1, p. 762 (January 11, 1900); *Reno Evening Gazette*, January 22, 1900, pp. 2-3.

4. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, p. 10.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

6. *Churchill County Standard* (Fallon, Nevada), March 7, 1919, p. 3.

7. Frank Sanford Scott, Jr., "An Economic Analysis of Irrigation Development with Particular Reference to Multiple-Purpose Development of the Truckee-Carson River System in Western Nevada," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois, 1953, pp. 80-86; Mary Ellen Glass, "The First Nationally Sponsored Arid Land Reclamation Project: The Newlands Act in Churchill County, Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV:I (Spring, 1971), 3-12.

8. *Truckee-Carson-Lake Tahoe Project*, p. 53.

9. Carl A. Pagter and Cameron W. Wolfe, Jr., "Comment, Lake Tahoe: The Future of a National Asset—Land Use, Water, and Pollution," *California Law Review*, Vol. 52, no. 3 (August, 1964), 578-80; Scott, "Economic Analysis," pp. 25-28.

10. *Churchill County Standard*, April 2, 1919, p. 1.

11. *Ibid.*, January 21, 1920, pp. 1, 2.

12. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1920, p. 1.

13. Fallon *Standard* (Fallon, Nevada), July 15, 1920, p. 1.

14. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1920, *passim.*

15. Letter, R. M. Patrick to Chief of Construction, USRS, Fallon, Nevada, August 13, 1919. Truckee-Carson Irrigation District records, University of Nevada, Reno, Library; hereafter cited as TCID Papers.

16. Voucher files, Summer, 1919. TCID papers.

17. FY 1920 vouchers: No. 9365, January 16, 1920, to Howard B. Davis and Carolyn Davis, $600; No. 9366, January 16, 1920, to Nicholas E. Flick, $1500; No. 919, March 1, 1920, to Charles E. Bugg and Laura A. Bugg, $300. All purchases in the Carnelian Bay area. TCID papers.

18. Emmet Boyle's father was not the first to propose a tunnel plan for Lake Tahoe. As early as 1866 A. W. Von Schmidt, an engineer, had offered a plan to supply San Francisco with water by tunnelling through the Sierra to tap the lake. The plan failed because San Francisco's mayor failed to approve a bond issue. Similar proposals in years afterwards met like fates. See Pagter and Wolfe, *California Law Review*, p. 578.

19. Fallon *Standard*, August 5, 1920, pp. 1, 3.

20. *Ibid.*, August 12, 1920, p. 1.

21. Stewart Edward White, "Easy Dollar! Shoot it Quick!" *Saturday Evening Post*, Vol. 193, no. 7 (August 14, 1920), 90.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 32.

23. Fallon *Standard*, August 19, 1920, p. 1.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

25. *Ibid.*, August 26, 1920, p. 1.

26. "Report of the Lake Tahoe Joint Study Committee," March, 1967. n.p. In University of Nevada Library, Reno.

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Stages of California's Economic Growth, 1870-1970: An Interpretation

ANYONE WHO ATTEMPTS to survey California's economic development over the past one hundred years does so with a certain amount of trepidation. The historical literature concerning the subject is sparse, indeed. Most aspects remain unexplored and constitute a virgin field. But the dearth of scholarly books and articles not only poses problems. It also invites speculation.[1] If the time for an historical synthesis concerning California's economic growth is premature, perhaps it is ripe for a sketch which can serve as an outline map in delineating broad contours and dimensions.

This essay is designed as an exploratory venture and seeks to do nothing more than to draw attention to an obviously neglected, if vital aspect of California's history. My purpose is to probe, to stimulate, and to provoke, to suggest a framework for interpretation rather than a definitive treatment of the subject. With appropriate apologies, then, I venture to present a cursory analysis of California's economic growth, one which, hopefully, future historians will amplify. My presentation is divided into three parts. First, I wish to suggest a conceptual framework for examining the historical development of California's economy. Secondly, I want to substantiate my hypothesis with historical illustrations drawn from the experience of the state. As I perceive it, California between 1870 and 1970 underwent three stages of economic development. An Agricultural Economy dominated the years from 1870 to 1900; an Industrial Economy characterized the period from the turn of the century to 1940; and from World War II to 1970 California was a prime example of a Technological Economy. Finally, it may be pertinent to note major consequences of a truly remarkable century of economic growth.

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Scholars seeking a framework within which to examine California's economic history are quickly confronted by a central question. Was California's economic growth unique? Or was it an exception in comparison to other states?[2] This essay seeks to develop the view that California's economic evolution has not constituted an exception to the growth patterns found elsewhere in the United States. Rather, the state has usually been ahead of other areas by about one generation. In its basic attributes California has mirrored consequent American development. As California went, so did the nation. California today is the United States tomorrow. This has been true not only of more recent times but since the early days of statehood. It may be well to explain the reasons for this trend and to illustrate how it came to be.

Historically, three forces have operated to shape the nature of California's economy: environment and climate, population, and technology. Because of its enormous variation and great versatility, California's environment and climate have operated as a constant challenge to social and technological inventiveness. This rich diversity in itself generated a selective process of migration. It brought the state a highly selected sample of Americans. Thus the diversity of the state's resources and climate was matched by an almost equal diversity of its people. Over the years this population has revealed enormous bursts of energy and much resourcefulness in the solution of a wide range of obstacles and problems. That the early settlers caught this spirit and had an appreciation of the process is well revealed by the famous inscription on a state building in Sacramento: "Bring me Men to Match My Mountains."

In addition to factors such as environment and the character of California's population, technology helped to shape the state's development. Throughout its history California has been an outstanding example of the peculiar American genius for the application of technology to modify the natural environment. In its enormous achievements as well as in its colossal failures, in its pioneering industries as in the creation of serious ecological problems, California's economy has been "Exhibit A" of the American economy. And the interplay of technology with environment set other social processes into motion which further contributed to the peculiar configuration of influences that has formed and reformed California through the years. In short, because of its great variation, California's environment and climate have operated as a constant challenge to social and technological inventiveness. This in itself created selective forces in the attraction of newcomers. Environmental and human diversity—combined with technological innovation—thus were key elements in the stimulation of California's economic growth.

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How did these processes operate during the last one hundred years? It is possible to discern at least three stages in the economic development of the state. Each of these presaged patterns of national economic growth by several decades. In the years between 1870 and 1900 California was characterized by an Agricultural Economy as the extensive application of technology produced the most highly commercialized form of farming in America. Then, between 1900 and 1940 California developed an Industrial Economy when manufacturing, in addition to agriculture, provided a major source of the state's income.[3] World War II inaugurated the Technological Economy (1940-1970) as California spawned an affluent society based on a highly sophisticated scientific industrial complex which was envied and emulated by the rest of the nation. In each of these periods the active interplay of environmental and technological forces produced California's peculiar characteristics and foreshadowed the shape of the nation's economy a generation later.

The Agricultural Economy (1870-1900)

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century California's economic growth was sparked by the emergence of a highly commercialized form of agriculture. These were the years when enterprising businessmen and farmers first realized the enormous agricultural potential of the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys with vast stretches of fertile as well as arid soils and the advantages of a two-season climate. Land speculators like William S. Chapman, businessmen like Isaac Friedländer, and large ranchers like Dr. Hugh Glenn realized that the adaptation of new technology would be a key to unlock California's agricultural wealth. This period thus witnessed bold and imaginative innovation to adapt farm machinery to California's peculiar environment. The result was the creation of what Carey McWilliams aptly designated as factories in the fields, a form of highly commercialized farming which was unique only in that it presaged a similar pattern elsewhere in the United States in ensuing decades.

Two major products became dominant during this period, wheat and fruit. Wheat was the most profitable of the state's crops as California between 1870 and 1900 became one of the largest grain producers in the nation. Then, as the soils of extensive wheat lands were exhausted, producers subdivided them to engage in horticulture. Agriculture thus came to provide a firm foundation for the state's economy although mining operations continued to contribute a significant portion of its total income.

Wheat proved to be as great a boon to California's economy as gold had been in an earlier era. California produced a hard, dry and unusually white wheat that became particularly popular on the Liverpool Corn Exchange. Environment, entrepreneurship, and technology combined to support the claim of the editor of the *California Farmer* in 1869 that "California is now esteemed the granary of the world." Climate and topography were conditioning factors for large-scale wheat culture. Between May 10 and November 1, no rain was expected in California, so grain could easily be harvested, threshed, and sacked without fear of losses. Long, hot summers also cured wheat as it ripened and precluded spoilage. The dryness of the summer season also enabled farmers to let their grains stand even after ripening. This made ranches of great size possible, ranging from 7000 to 35,000 acres. But the initiative for California's entry into world wheat markets was taken by a restless group of San Francisco merchants in 1860, spurred by what they considered to be the state's isolation from lucrative eastern and international marketing outlets. After more than a decade of strenuous efforts, by 1875 they succeeded in capturing a large share of the British wheat trade. At the same time, middlemen like the grain broker Isaac Friedländer brought ship owners, bankers, and grain growers together to facilitate increasingly large California wheat exports to England and to establish stable institutional mechanisms for the operation of the grain traffic. After the turn of the century wheat exports began a rapid decline, prompted by intense Canadian and Russian competition, lower prices, and declining grain yields due to soil exhaustion.[4]

If California's restless entrepreneurs sparked a boom in wheat, this was possible only because equally adventurous farmers were sufficiently enterprising to adapt existing technology to the peculiarities of the California environment. They developed huge plows drawn by dozens of horses. To handle ripe grains they built new header-thresher machines which combined harvesting and threshing into one simultaneous operation. Increasingly, threshing operations in California were powered by portable steam engines. Such large-scale harvesting equipment on the Pacific Coast amazed farmers in other sections of the country who turned to similar types of mechanization a generation later.

The Glenn Ranch in northern California provided an excellent example of the interaction of environment, innovation, and technology. A former dentist, Dr. Hugh Glenn in 1880 was perhaps the largest wheat rancher in the world. He owned 66,000 acres of land in Colusa County which stretched as far as sixteen miles along the Sacramento River. In that year he raised more than one million bushels of wheat on his vast domains on which he operated six giant steam threshing machines and sixty headers worth more than $100,000. He also had his own blacksmith shops which were capable of manufacturing special agricultural implements to suit the unique needs of his large enterprise. One of his blacksmiths, George Hoag, built a new mammoth separator which had a threshing capacity six times as great as those of standard machines then on the market. Glenn conducted one of the most highly mechanized farming operations in the United States and served to foreshadow California's new form of agriculture.[5]

During this period horticulture grew to become another highly commercialized form of farming in California. By 1900 the state's booming population brought a great rise in land prices but also made wheat less profitable and contributed to its decline. Sometime about 1880 many agriculturists in the Central Valley and in Southern California therefore began to convert to fruit. Soil and climate were obviously conducive to such conversion which was also accompanied by highly skilled application of technology. Pioneers like Arpad Haraszthy laid the foundations for the wine industry. Others performed similar services for large-scale fruit growing, including peaches, apricots, cherries, plums and pears. Even more important were citrus fruits like oranges and lemons as innovators like Mrs. Eliza Tibbett of Riverside made their profitable production possible.[6]

If the fruit industry rose to a place of economic eminence, this was due to numerous contributions of science and technology. Scientific eradication of diseases such as white scale was crucial, for it threatened to destroy entire fruit harvests. The newly formed State Board of Horticulture in 1883 was active in the introduction of beneficial insects and in imposing quarantines to contain various blights. Nor could the conversion of wheat to fruit have come without the construction of a complicated network of irrigation works and canals. Of course Californians were not the first to develop irrigation, but the size, scale, and ingenuity of what they constructed constituted one of the agricultural marvels of the age. And the fruit industry could hardly have expanded to major proportions as quickly as it did had it not been for the invention of the refrigerator car. After 1880 this seemingly simple device generated a complicated chain of circumstances on the West Coast. It made it possible for California fruit growers to reach lucrative eastern markets which they had never been able to do before. Without access to these markets it is doubtful whether the industry could have grown significantly.[7] The highly commercialized form of horticulture pioneered by Californians during this period was adapted by other regions in the United States a generation later, as new urban markets created an increasing demand for fruit.

During the last three decades of the nineteenth century, then, agriculture dominated the economic growth of California. The state's advantageous soil and climate were shewdly exploited by an innovative group of farmers and businessmen who skilfully applied new scientific and technological methods to create a highly commercialized form of agriculture. Wheat and fruit were the major products of the era, but the agricultural foundations laid during this period opened visions for expansion into many new spheres of farming. And the time for such expansion was ripe, for California and the nation were just on the threshold of vast urban growth which created new markets for fruit growers everywhere. California agriculture thus provided a model for commercialized farming throughout the United States.

The Industrial Economy (1900-1940)

Sometime about the turn of the century the rapid increase of California's population resulted in a broadening of its economy. To be sure, commercial agriculture continued to be an important aspect of the state's economic life. But with each passing year new income was generated by the growth of manufacturing, by petroleum, and by burgeoning service industries, including tourism and motion pictures. In addition, striking innovations in the field of banking provided much of the capital needed to further this expansion, lessening California's dependence on foreign or eastern financiers. If California's economic growth opened new perspectives, the process of economic change was similar to earlier periods. The state's wondrous and diverse array of resources and climates operated to draw adventurous entrepreneurs within its borders who revealed great resourcefulness in applying technology to their new environment. The increasing diversity of California in many ways mirrored the future of the national economy.

The great farm boom of this period was particularly pronounced in Southern California where citrus fruits and vegetable farming expanded to unprecedented proportions. The number of California farms doubled between 1900 and 1940, reflecting more intensive soil exploitation. Citrus production increased some tenfold and centered in the southern part of the state—in San Gabriel, Pasadena, Redlands, Riverside, Santa Ana, Los Angeles, and San Bernardino counties. Success came, however, not only because of beneficial soils and climate. It was also due to the extraordinary acumen of California growers who applied scientific and organizational skills to the expansion of this great industry. C. C. Chapman, for example, pioneered with a new strain known as the Valencia orange, especially suited to the California climate since it matured in summer and in early fall. G. W. Garcelon of Riverside successfully developed new varieties of lemons, bred to suit California's climatic and marketing conditions. Establishment of the Citrus Research Station at Riverside under auspices of the University of California in 1907 greatly facilitated the application of scientific advances in California's citrus industry. It also made possible large-scale orange production in central and northern California. In addition, California fruit growers devised new and large organizations to facilitate their marketing—a key element in their success. The California Fruit Growers Exchange, founded in 1905, was an outstanding example of this type of business cooperative, although there were scores of similar smaller organizations functioning during these years.

The growth of cities in the state gave an enormous impetus to truck and dairy farming. Production of grapes, raisins, prunes, walnuts, apricots, cherries, pears, and peaches, to name only a few, increased more than tenfold during these forty years. By 1940 California was shipping more than 100,000 railroad cars of fruit out of the state annually. Vegetable crops increased in similar proportions. Nor should the contributions of newcomers who built a major fishing and canning industry during the period be ignored. California thus came to be the major purveyor of foodstuffs to the nation's urban centers. An increasingly larger percentage of the total fruit and vegetable crop was either canned, dried, or processed. In every instance, assiduous experimentation with new strains or with scientific growing methods, together with imaginative new ways of marketing and processing contributed to the rapid expansion of one of the state's major industries.[8] And the example of the California food growers and processors served as a model for commercialized agriculture throughout the country.

The era also witnessed a great expansion of manufacturing in California. In 1900 the state ranked twelfth among the states in manufacturing; by 1940 it was eighth. A continued influx of population into California brought new human skills as well as much needed capital which sparked a significant spurt in manufacturing. And climate, of course, was an added incentive to the location of new factories in California. The growth of industry was due to population expansion on the Pacific Coast and in the trans-Mississippi West which created nearby, or at least easily accessible, markets. Perhaps the technological innovations of Californians in manufacturing were less significant than their adroit use of climate and environment to stimulate capital investment in new industries and to attract a specialized and skilled labor force. At the turn of the century most industries were engaged in the processing of raw materials and included sugar refineries, flour mills, saw mills, and canneries. By World War I great diversification was under way, however, as at least eighty other manufactures added to the state's total income. Until that time California's lack of coal had been a real handicap to industrialization, since steam was the major form of power during much of the nineteenth century. But as petroleum, natural gas, and electricity came to be major sources of energy, California's erstwhile problem vanished since the state had ample supplies of each. As a result, availability of these new sources of power helped to stimulate manufacturing which came to provide an annual income of about $1 billion, or one-third of California's yearly income on the eve of World War II. Automobile assembly plants as well as auxiliary automobile service industries came to dot the California landscape, while in the south enterprising businessmen began aircraft manufacturing just after World War I. The range of California's factory products grew yearly in this stage of its development.[9]

Of the various new industries petroleum early became important. In 1900 state production was a mere four million barrels. Forty years later it was four hundred million barrels. Once more the diversity of California's resources opened still another avenue of economic growth. Oil seepages, of course, had been known to occur since the early days of Spanish exploration. During the Civil War decade another flurry of oil exploration occurred when various easterners including President Tom Scott of the Pennsylvania Railroad and Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale University actively sought oil in Southern California. But large-scale exploitation of petroleum in California did not begin until the opening of the twentieth century. Then the kerosene and gasoline needs of the substantial population and the demand for lubricants by manufacturers created important new markets for oil. It did not take enterprising businessmen like E. L. Doheny or the Stewart brothers (founders of the Union Oil Company) long to discern the potential profitability of California's oil reserves. Doheny in particular realized that petroleum products could solve the chronic coal shortage problem of most western railroads if technological means for their effective utilization could be developed. In the absence of extensive western coal deposits they had been forced for three decades to rely on distant and expensive eastern supplies. Together with officials of the Santa Fe Railroad Doheny encouraged scientific research which by the turn of the century led the Southern Pacific as well as the Santa Fe Railroad to convert to diesel oil-burning locomotives. Within a decade most of the nation's rail carriers followed the California example. The state's oil devolpment was further stimulated by the opening of the Panama Canal in 1914 which made cheap transportation and access to East Coast markets more readily available. By 1900, therefore, extensive drilling in central and southern California was under way, particularly in Kern County, Los Angeles, and Long Beach. During the next forty years California consistently ranked among the five leading oil producing states in the nation.[10]

Part of the success of California oil men was due to their ingenuity in applying new scientific methods to increasingly complex production and refining processes. Large companies such as the Standard Oil Company of California pioneered with the conscious utilization of scientific research in the improvement of oil production and refining. But scores of individuals and smaller corporations often showed themselves to be no less innovative. This was especially true of the first efforts in offshore drilling on the tidelands which unexpectedly were discovered to contain lucrative oil reserves. Although offshore drilling had been begun off Santa Barbara in 1896, it was not until 1920 that it became an important enterprise along the Pacific coast, particularly in the Long Beach area. The post-World War I decade witnessed a veritable boom in oil drilling in California with the tapping of new major fields.[11] The growth of the petroleum industry followed a by-now familiar pattern. A precious natural resource attracted imaginative entrepreneurs, and their skilful adaptation of available technology for its exploitation laid the basis for another of the state's important industries.

The making of motion pictures also came to be a significant part of California's economy. Both environment and climate were eminently suitable for the large-scale production of moving pictures. California contains almost every conceivable kind of landscape or climate. Within a short radius of one hundred miles in the Los Angeles area were oceans, beaches, mountains, valleys, deserts, and swamps, large cities as well as small hamlets, all within easy reach. And year-round mild temperatures permitted optimum production schedules for the shooting of outdoor scenes. Moreover, California's highly diverse population provided a reservoir of talent from which movie producers could draw at will. That daring and adventurous sense of innovation which had already characterized the growth of other spheres of the state's economy must have beckoned like a beacon to the early motion picture entrepreneurs, men like Louis B. Mayer, the Warner brothers, and Cecil B. DeMille, as in the decade after World War I they built Hollywood into the world's motion picture capital.[12] Perhaps not all of their innovations were original, whether in lighting, staging, photography, or projection, but their vast new companies developed them on an unprecedented scale which set standards not only in the United States but around the globe.

No survey of California's economic growth can ignore the contributions of the service industries during the twentieth century. Of these tourism early came to take on major dimensions. The scenic natural wonders of California and its balmy climates early made it a favorite vacation spot for the wealthy. And California's enterprising businessmen did not wait long to take advantage of the favorable environment. By 1900 a number of first-class hotels had been built which, together with the publicity campaigns of the state's two major railroads, stimulated an increasing number of tourists to visit the Pacific Coast. The Florence Hotel in San Diego and the Coronado were prototypes of the splendid California hostelries with vast parks and gardens that attracted well-to-do easterners.[13]

But the most significant boost in tourism came with the automobile revolution of the twenties. The motor car made California one of the vacation centers of America, not only for the classes, but now for the masses. California's lawmakers during these years saw the opportunities of tourism and sought to capitalize upon their advantages by authorizing the construction of the most advanced highway system in the country—to be imitated by many other states in the future. Meanwhile, service industries such as gasoline stations, motor courts, restaurants, and hotels underwent enormous expansion.[14] The configuration of service industries developed in California between 1900 and 1940 presaged similar trends elsewhere in the United States during ensuing decades. Once more California paced the nation.

It is doubtful whether California's great economic growth during the first four decades of the twentieth century could have proceeded as rapidly as it did if it had not been facilitated by extraordinary innovations in finance. Until the First World War California was dependent to a large extent on eastern as well as on foreign capital. Indeed, the state's position was not wholly unlike that of an underdeveloped nation, a colony subject to control by outside financiers such as Wall Street. But the acceleration of California's economic expansion after 1919 acted as a spur to scores of imaginative bankers who perceived the enormous potentials yet to be exploited. Some of them, like Joseph Sartori of the Security Savings Bank and Trust Company, greatly strengthened the state's banking institutions by a series of shrewd mergers. Such consolidations provided more investment capital for use within the state, thus lessening dependence on outsiders. Perhaps the most brilliant and daring financial innovations were made by A. P. Giannini of the fledgling Bank of Italy (founded in 1904). By skilful and adroit use of the technique of branch banking—known for many years but not used widely in the United States—in ten short years after 1919 Giannini made the Bank of Italy (after 1933 known as the Bank of America) the largest in California. By the time of the Second World War it was one of the biggest in the trans-Mississippi West. Thereafter it grew to be one of the banking giants of the nation, and indeed, the entire world.[15] The stupendous expansion of the Bank of America helped to free California from its heavy reliance on outside capital and contributed to an acceleration of the pace of economic growth. For the first time in a century it ameliorated a chronic shortage of investment capital. And by 1940 the Bank of America provided a striking example of the flexibility of branch banking, an example that was followed by bankers in every part of the country within twenty years.

On the eve of World War II the maturation of California's Industrial Economy signified another distinct stage in the state's fabulous economic growth. To the firm foundations of agriculture and extractive mineral enterprises a generation of innovative entrepreneurs had added a wide range of manufacturing industries. Environment and climate, access to lucrative markets, and utilization of advanced technology helped in fostering California's industries. In its diversity as well as in its emphasis on innovation California industry in 1940 foreshadowed similar developments in other parts of the United States in succeeding years.

The Technological Economy (1940-1970)

It was in the midst of the Second World War that California, ahead of much of the nation, entered upon a new phase of its economic development. The war hastened the emergence of a technological economy, an economy not based so much on the exploitation of raw materials as on scientific and technological inventions. This new era brought California into an age of affluence. To be sure, some of California's basic industries continued to be of vital importance and underwent continued expansion. This was true of agriculture, manufacturing, and the increasingly important service industries. But the postwar boom was stimulated especially by the rapid rise of computer and aerospace industries which catapulted California into first position as the nation's most populous state, and, if projections materialize, by 1980 also the wealthiest. As in earlier years, natural environment, a highly skilled and mobile population, and effective application of technology combined to inaugurate the new age. Geographical factors and the mild climate did much to attract a variety of specialized skills and talents, including those of scientists and engineers. Salubrious climate was also an important magnet in drawing technological industries which depended primarily on highly specialized skills. And the existence in California of a well developed educational system at virtually every level which trained and retrained a constant stream of skilled labor served as a key whereby the findings of science and technology could be quickly adapted to foster the state's economic growth even more effectively than in former years. The technological complex and its consequent life styles which Californians created in the quarter century after World War II became a prototype of the eventual economic and cultural life patterns of a vast majority of Americans.

After 1940 California's agri-business reached unprecedented heights. It still constituted the largest single industry in the state as in 1970 the annual value of farm products exceeded $4 billions. When the activities of related industries such as canning and processing are considered, the total income generated by farming totalled as much as $13 billions yearly.[16] Although California produced more than three hundred important crops, its farmers emphasized fruits and vegetables, dairy products, cotton, poultry, and beef. That California's diverse climates allowed for year-round production and for the most diverse array of crops to be found anywhere helped to account for the state's predominance in American agriculture. Moreover, the rationalization of production by utilization of scientific and technological methods capitalized on the advantages offered by environment and led California to boast of the nation's most highly commercialized agriculture.

Much of the economic boom between 1940 and 1970 was due to an enormous incursion of new capital through large federal expenditures. Most of these consisted of military and defense appropriations which were channeled primarily into the aerospace and electronics industries. A conservative estimate would consider the total sum spent by the federal govenment in California between 1940 and 1970 to be at least $100 billions, more than in any other state.[17] That government was contributing an increasingly larger share of new investment capital–in relation to private enterprise–was a major nationwide trend of fiscal policy. But it was more pronounced in California than elsewhere. Once again, California heralded what was to become a national characteristic.

The demands of the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) made California the leading aerospace center in the United States. Most of the $8 billions of annual income which this industry brought the state came from federal contracts. North American Aviation, Lockheed, Douglas Aviation, General Dynamics, Northrop, and the Hughes Aircraft companies came to be giant employers. More than half a million Californians found new jobs in aerospace and related industries, and by 1960 they constituted one-third of the state's labor force in manufacturing. Work on guided missiles, jet propulsion, and supersonic flight flourished. If California was pre-eminent in these spheres, it was because familiar processes were at work. Its topography was particularly suitable to aerospace development. California had the vast empty stretches of the Mohave Desert, on the one hand, and the expanse of the Pacific Ocean, on the other. When combined with a mild and predictable climate such advantages gave the state unrivalled opportunities for testing. And the closeness of these areas to great urban centers which contained conglomerates of scientists and technicians made possible easy access between laboratory and testing ground while at the same time facilitating close communication within the scientific community. Moreover, California's climate helped to attract able scientific talent. A further magnet was the presence of distinguished scientific research facilities at institutions such as the California Institute of Technology, the University of California, and Stanford University. The highly developed public educational system of the state, including the multiversity, promised a steady supply of new and well trained scientists and technicians.[18]

Military expenditures also did much to stimulate a large-scale electronics and automation industry in California. During the 1950's these industries showed a much greater growth rate than any other type of manufacture. Communications equipment, electrical machinery, and scientific instruments became especially important. Facilities such as the United States Air Force Space Laboratory at Inglewood or IBM's huge research complexes at San Jose were prime examples of public and private electronics research enterprises on the Pacific Coast.[19]

A significant portion of California's income, however, was provided by its service industries. More than most states, California became a prototype of the world's first service-oriented economy, one of the first in which perhaps one-half of the labor force was not directly engaged in the production of goods. Reflecting a characteristic trend of an affluent society, increases in California's employment came in services—whether banks, hospitals, or schools. In 1929 the number of individuals engaged in services was forty per cent of the total labor force; by 1967 it was fifty-five per cent in California—somewhat ahead of the national average. Among the service industries tourism became of increasing importance. This was quite understandable in the context of an affluent society in which increasing leisure for the millions beckoned for new ways to while away non-working hours. The tourist complex—embracing automobile service stations and garages, motels and restaurants along seemingly endless miles of freeways was more fully developed in California than elsewhere in the nation, with the possible exception of Florida. But to a greater or lesser extent its pattern was gradually developed along similar lines in many other sections of the country.[20]

By 1970, then, California had developed a Technological Economy which reflected major trends in the nation's economic growth. Great diversity of agricultural as well as industrial production, the very rapid rise of aerospace and computer industries, and the growing importance of service-oriented enterprises heralded the new pattern in the United States and, indeed, in the more advanced economic nations of the world. If California became the harbinger of things to come, it was due to processes which had been at work since its first settlement to give shape to economic growth. Environment, diverse skills, and sophisticated use of technology combined as they had in earlier years to make California the economic pace-setter of the Western world.

This rapid survey of California's economic development has revealed a bewildering array of changes over the last one hundred years. And yet the processes that have produced these changes have shown a remarkable consistency. Environment, population, and technology have operated as basic conditioning factors to determine the nature of the state's development. Natural environment and climate served as selective factors in determining the character of the people in the state, drawing upon a great diversity of skills and talents from every section of the United States and the globe. Within the broader context of American culture these environmental and social influences combined to maximize the application of technology to the natural and human resources of California. The result was the emergence of tomorrow's society today, of a microcosm of American society one generation ahead of the rest of the country.

The three major stages of California's economic development in the century after 1870 reflected the interplay of environmental, social, cultural, and technological forces. During the era of the Agricultural Economy the magnificent agricultural potential of the Central Valley and of Southern California acted as a challenge to a varied group of entrepreneurs and farmers who skilfully applied science and technology to build the most highly commercialized form of agriculture to be found in the United States. Their feat was equalled and surpassed during the first four decades of the twentieth century when a group of enterprising industrialists laid the foundations for large-scale industry in the state. Skilfully drawing upon the advantages of location and climate they attracted a talented and diversified labor force to California which provided the necessary skills for the creation of hundreds of new industries. At the same time the increases of population brought by these rapid surges of economic expansion in themselves provided new markets which helped to generate new demands for a variety of goods. World War II ended the age of the Industrial Economy and ushered in the Technological Economy as it accelerated the pace of economic change in California. To a considerable extent this was due to the influx of vast federal funds which sparked a boom in every phase of California's economy, but especially in the development of aerospace and electronics industries. Once more California's environment and climate proved to be economic assets. They served as magnets for the location of technologically oriented industries, and also helped to attract the highly skilled labor force necessary for their development. The major stages of California's economic development—embracing the Agricultural Economy, the Industrial Economy, and the Technological Economy—were not unique in the United States, but they preceded the patterns followed by other areas of the country by about one generation.

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One cannot leave the subject of California's economic growth without taking cognizance of some of the grave problems that it has produced. If the state mirrors the attainment of the affluent society in America, at the same time it reflects some of its most elemental flaws. This is not the occasion for a catalogue of errors. But it would not be amiss to note that two of the most fundamental weaknesses of American society during the second half of the twentieth century were first revealed in California—a generation before they seriously became visible in other parts of the nation. One of these problems was of a spiritual nature, the other, physical.

California's culture and society have always revealed a sense of *anomie* in the individual, a feeling of rootlessness or alienation. Considering the enormous growth of the state during the last one hundred years and the great mobility and diversity of its population, perhaps this was inevitable. Californians early felt a loss of that sense of community which now nags Americans everywhere, especially in the great cities. And long before the rest of the country California had its colonies of drop-outs, utopians, and nonconformists. That sense of spiritual insecurity, of loss of community, which is one of the by-products of a culture in a condition of constant flux was clearly reflected in California several decades before it turned into a national malaise. In this sense, too, California mirrored the America of the future.

California's economic growth has also resulted in serious physical problems. By the middle of the twentieth century the state had already become an almost classic example of environmental imbalance brought about by wanton and unplanned applications of science and technology. Smog and air pollution, contamination of the Pacific Ocean, of rivers, lakes, streams, and vegetation, the destruction of wilderness areas and wildlife were more apparent in California after 1950 than elsewhere. California's predicament was not unique, however, but only served as a showcase for a problem that plagued the entire nation. By 1970 it elicited a major nationwide concern. But nowhere else were environmental problems brought about by a technological economy so starkly revealed as in California.

As California goes, so goes the nation! For over a century California's economic development has paced that of the United States. One can only hope that Californians will respond to the problems produced by their economic growth with some of that same ingenuity which they revealed during the various stages of their economic development. If they can rise to the challenge, and if past historical trends are an indication, then perhaps it is not too much to expect that the rest of the nation once again will follow them into similar and, hopefully, constructive paths.

NOTES

1. For one of the few attempts to assess California's economic development see Forest G. Hill, "The Shaping of California's Industrial Pattern," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Western Economic Association* (1955); see also James J. Parsons, "California Manufacturing," *Geographical Review*, XXXIX (April, 1949), 229-241. Old, but useful, is Robert G. Cleland and Osgood Hardy, *March of Industry* (Los Angeles, 1929).

2. Carey McWilliams, *California, the Great Exception* (New York, 1949); for subsequent modification of his views see Carey McWilliams (ed.), *The California Revolution* (New York, 1969).

3. Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, ch. IV ff.

4. Reynold M. Wik, *Steam Power on the American Farm* (Philadelphia, 1953), 53-54; Rodman Paul, "The Wheat Trade between California and the United Kingdom," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (December, 1958), 391-412.

5. Wik, *op. cit.*, 53.

6. Claude B. Hutchinson (ed.), *California Agriculture* (Berkeley, 1946); Osgood Hardy, "Agricultural Changes in California, 1860-1890," *Proceedings of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association* (Eugene, Oregon, 1929), 216-230.

7. Gerald D. Nash, *State Government and Economic Development: a History of Administrative Policies in California, 1849-1933* (Berkeley, 1964), 146-150.

8. Erich O. Kraemer and Henry E. Erdman, *History of Cooperation in the Marketing of Fresh, Deciduous Fruits* (Berkeley, 1933), and Rahno Mabel MacCurdy, *The History of the California Fruit Growers' Exchange* (San Francisco, 1925) are relevant.

9. For relevant statistics see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1902), 331, and Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, 133-166. See also U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Fourteenth Census of the United States* (Washington, 1923), 920.

10. Nash, *State Government*, 316-318; Gerald D. Nash, *United States Oil Policy, 1890-1964: Business and Government in Twentieth Century America* (Pittsburgh, 1968), 3-4, 6, 15-18; Cleland and Hardy, *March of Industry*, 179-180; Gerald T. White, *Formative Years in the Far West: a History of Standard Oil Company of California and Its Predecessors through 1919* (New York, 1962), passim.

11. Gerald D. Nash, "Oil in the West: Reflections on the Historiography of an Unexplored Field," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXIX (May 1970), 193-204; see also Sam H. Schurr and Bruce Netchert, *Energy in the American Economy, 1850-1975* (Baltimore, 1960), 354.

12. Richard Griffith and Arthur Mayer, *The Movies: the Sixty-year Story of the World of Hollywood and its Effect on America from Pre-Nickelodeon Days to the Present* (New York, 1957).

13. On the general significance of the service industries see Victor R. Fuchs, *The Growing Importance of the Service Industries* (New York, 1965); on tourism note John C. Packard, "San Diego's Early Hotels," *Southern California Quarterly*, L (September, 1968), 267-278.

14. Victor R. Fuchs, *The Service Economy* (New York, 1968), 1-5, 28.

15. Nash, *State Government*, 285-291; Marquis and Bessie R. James, *Biography of a Bank: the Story of Bank of America* (New York, 1954).

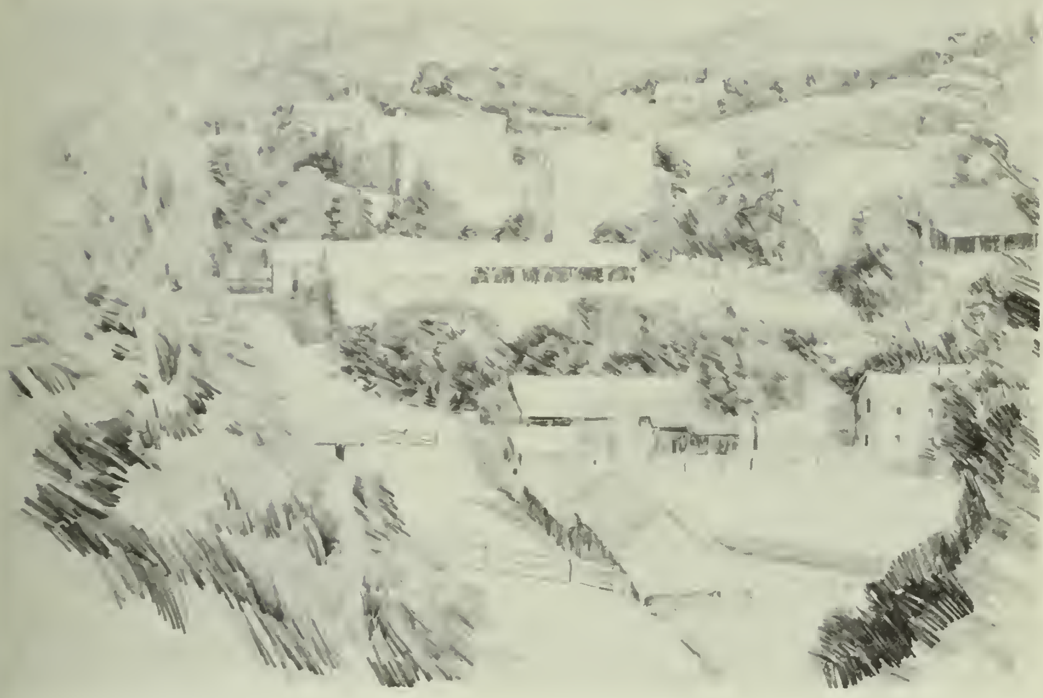
16. Paul N. Williams *et al.*, "Green Gold: California's $3.5 Billion Agricultural Industry," *California*, LIV (Autumn, 1964), 23-51.

17. James L. Clayton, "Defense Spending: Key to California's Growth," *Western Political Quarterly*, XV (June, 1962), 280-293, and another article by the same author, "The Impact of the Cold War on the Economics of California and Utah, 1946-1965," *Pacific Historical Review*, XXXVI (November, 1967), 449-473.

18. Frank J. Taylor and Lawton Wright, *Democracy's Air Arsenal* (New York, 1947), is superficial. See also H. O. Stekler, *The Structure and Performance of the Aerospace Industry* (Berkeley, 1965).

19. Annual editions of the *California Statistical Abstract* after 1960 reveal the growing importance of the electronics industry. A general glimpse of manufacturing in California after 1929 is in Victor R. Fuchs, *Changes in the Location of Manufacturing in the United States Since 1929* (New York, 1962).

20. Fuchs, *The Service Economy*, 28; see also Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission, *Projections to the Years 1976 and 2000: Economic Growth, Population, Labor Force and Leisure, and Transportation* (Washington, 1962), 419, 421.



SHASTA REVISITED

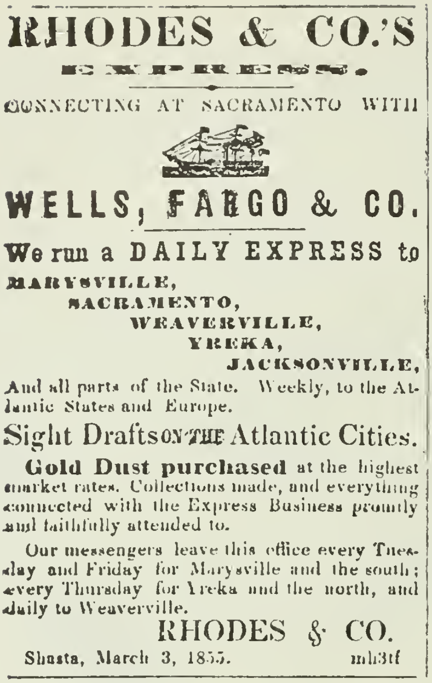
by Paul C. Johnson

drawings by Mabel Moores Frisbie

On a hilly site in the mountains west of Redding stands a row of red brick walls, the windowless and doorless shells of the once-thriving town of Shasta, now preserved in a "state of arrested decay" as a state historical monument. The sun-baked cluster conveys little evidence of the former importance of this settlement, which served as a gateway to the northernmost reaches of California for three bustling decades, beginning in 1849.

Like most pioneer settlements, Shasta left scant visual record of its heyday. To fill this omission, a talented Redding artist, Mabel Moores Frisbie, who grew up in the area during the years of Shasta's fading glory, has recreated the setting of Shasta in its prime in a series of pencil drawings that depict the town as she knew it in childhood or learned about it from her pioneering family. Trained in art at the College of Arts and Crafts, Oakland, and the extension division of Columbia University, she has converted scratched daguerreotypes and faded photographs into pencil renderings, deftly graced with additions, deletions, and combinations that restore the look and feel of Shasta as it really was.

The following selections are from a book by the artist, with accompanying text by her daughter, Jean Moores Beauchamp, to be published by the California Historical Society for the Shasta Historical Society early next year.



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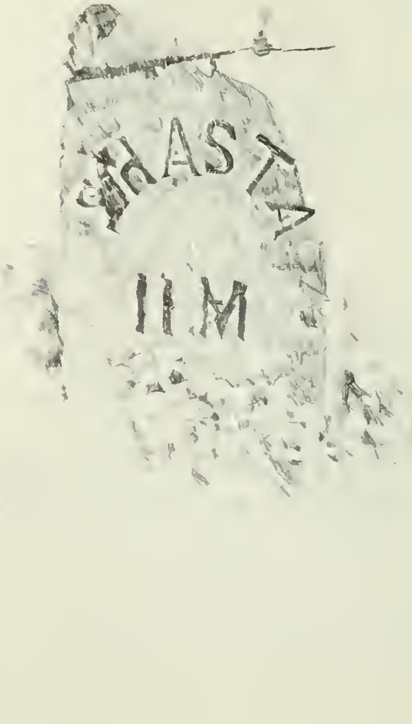
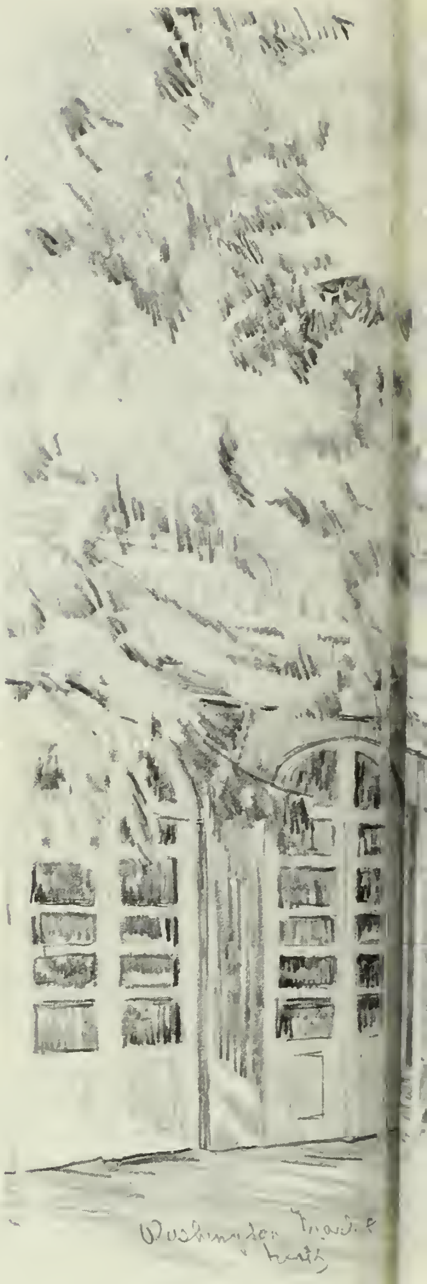
Our messengers leave this office every Tuesday and Friday for Marysville and the south; every Thursday for Yreka and the north, and daily to Weaverville.

RHODES & CO.

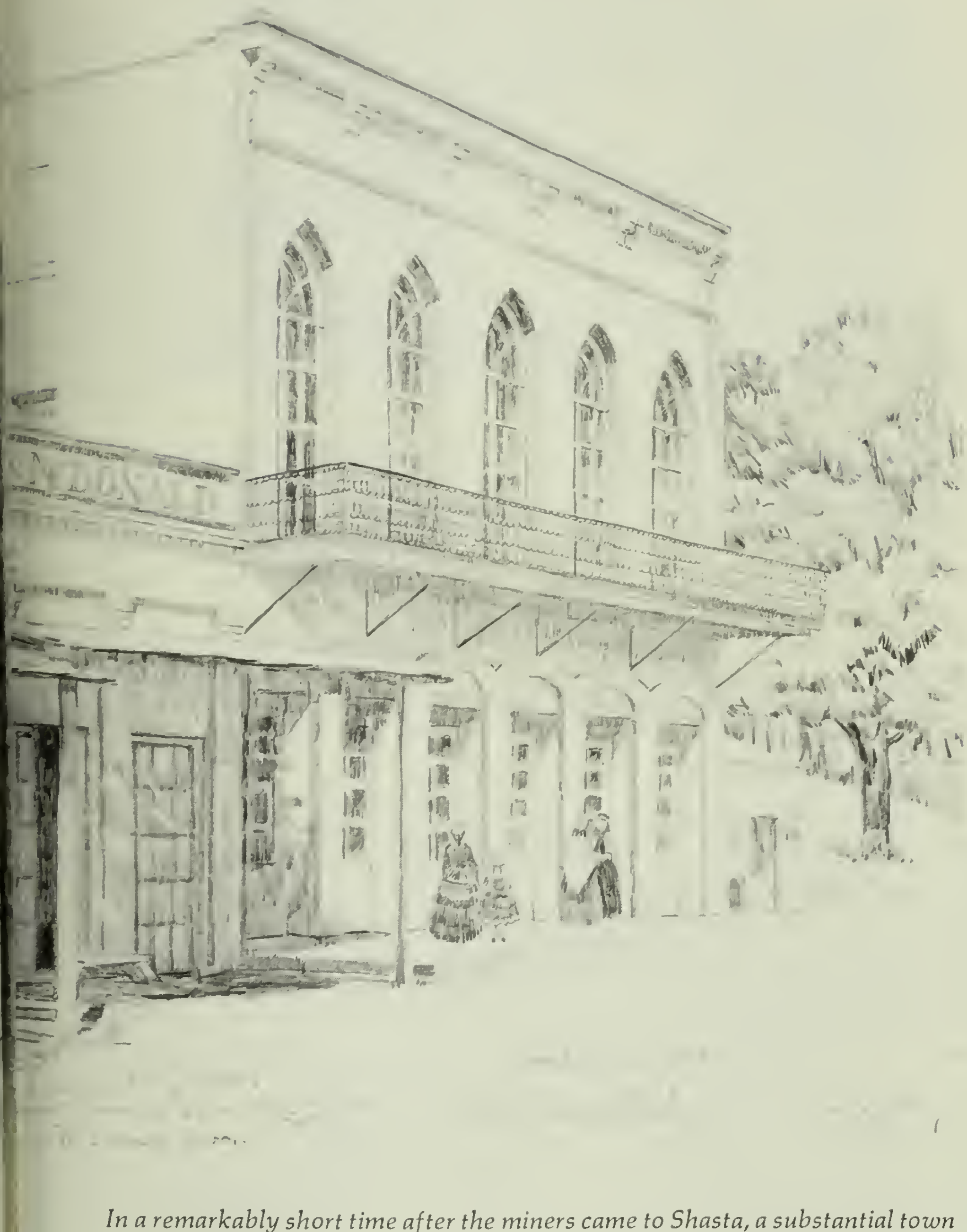
Shasta, March 3, 1855. mh3tf

The dozen express companies that set up shop in Shasta were more than package carriers: As precursors to the banks, the firms bought and sold gold dust, issued negotiable notes of redemption for gold deposited with them.

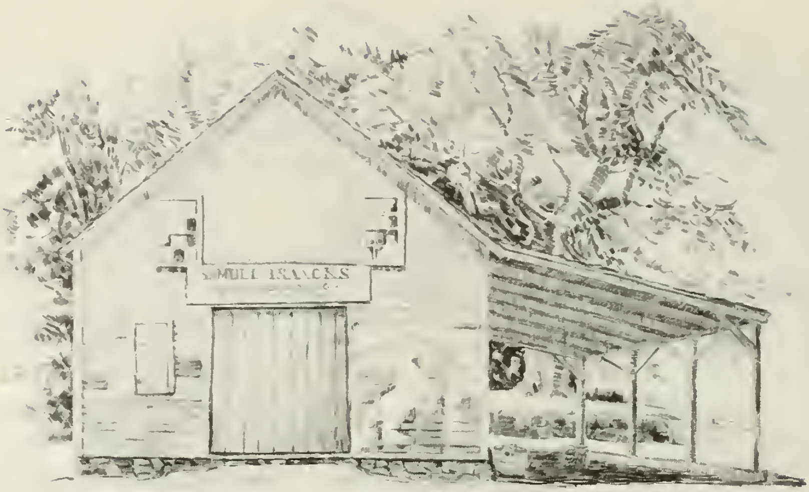




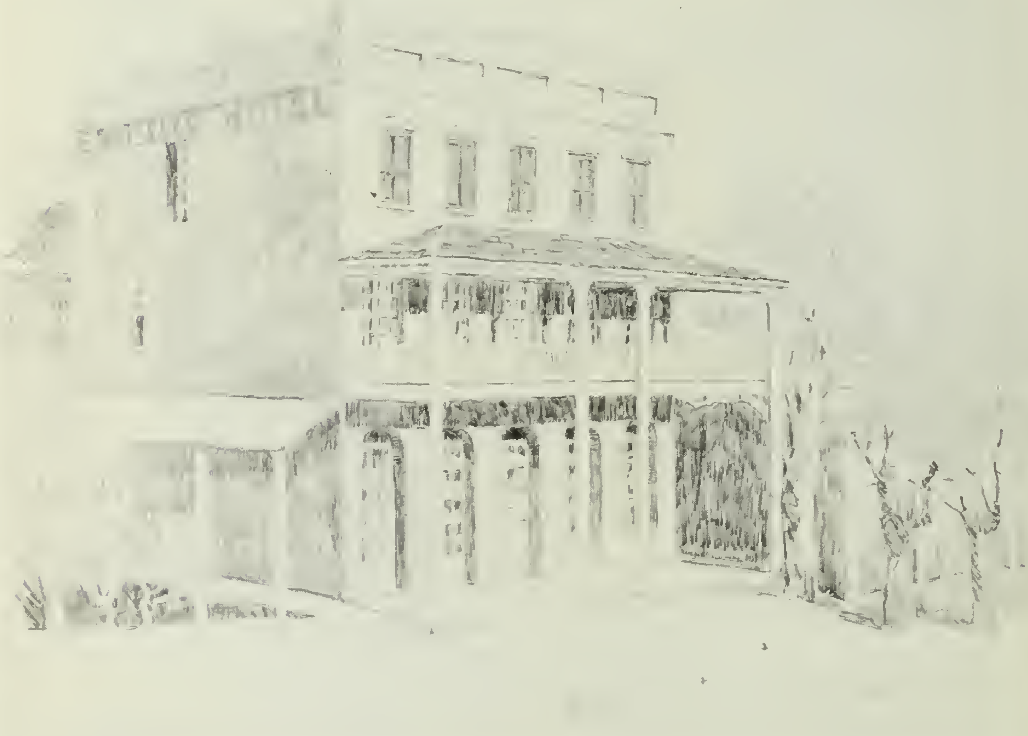
Left: *Confident of the future, builders of the Camden Toll Road that led west from Shasta installed permanent milestones of carved sandstone in 1861.*



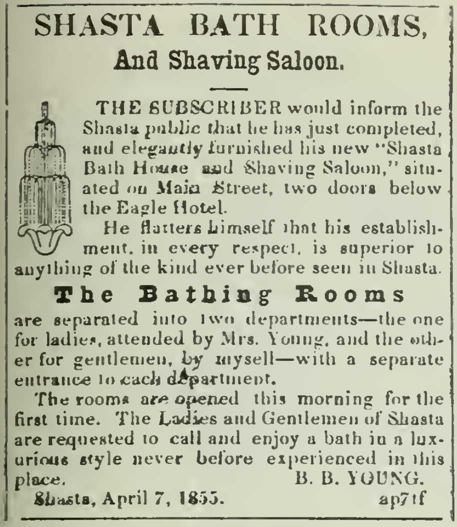
In a remarkably short time after the miners came to Shasta, a substantial town metamorphosed. The first business district, constructed of wood, burned down in 33 minutes in 1853. Undaunted, businessmen rebuilt it in brick, of such permanence that some of the walls outlasted the town itself by more than a century. "The most beautiful building in Shasta" (above), the yellow-brick Charter Oak Hotel (1857-1920), contained shops on the first floor, hotel rooms on the second, and a springy ballroom on the third. In its old age, the building was ignominiously dismantled to supply bricks for a steam laundry in Redding.



Services for horse and wagon were essential to this center of "whoa navigation." A painting of a rampant horse on Sam Isaack's blacksmith shop unmistakenly identified the function of this shop, one of a multitude of livery shops and stables.



The town's leading caravansary for two decades, the Empire Hotel (1857) sheltered many luminaries in its "plastered, large and airy rooms." The Empire was also noted for the comfortable lodgings provided for the travelers' horses in a commodious stable next door.



SHASTA BATH ROOMS,

And Shaving Saloon.

THE SUBSCRIBER would inform the Shasta public that he has just completed, and elegantly furnished his new "Shasta Bath House and Shaving Saloon," situated on Main Street, two doors below the Eagle Hotel.

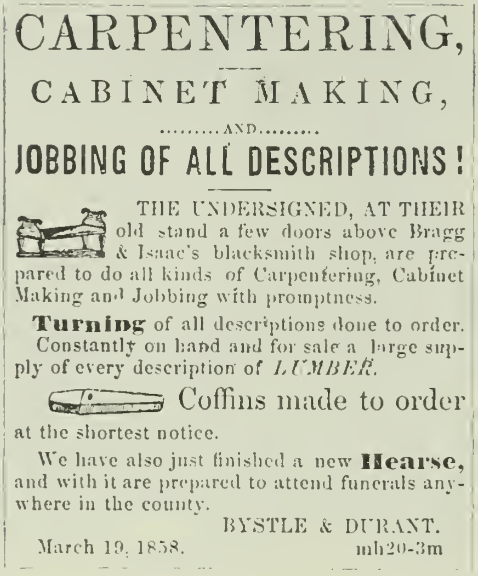
He flatters himself that his establishment, in every respect, is superior to anything of the kind ever before seen in Shasta.

The Bathing Rooms

are separated into two departments—the one for ladies, attended by Mrs. Young, and the other for gentlemen, by myself—with a separate entrance to each department.

The rooms are opened this morning for the first time. The Ladies and Gentlemen of Shasta are requested to call and enjoy a bath in a luxurious style never before experienced in this place. B. B. YOUNG.

Shasta, April 7, 1855. ap7tf



CARPENTERING,

CABINET MAKING,

……AND……

JOBBING OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS!

THE UNDERSIGNED, AT THEIR old stand a few doors above Bragg & Isaac's blacksmith shop, are prepared to do all kinds of Carpentering, Cabinet Making and Jobbing with promptness.

Turning of all descriptions done to order. Constantly on hand and for sale a large supply of every description of *LUMBER.*

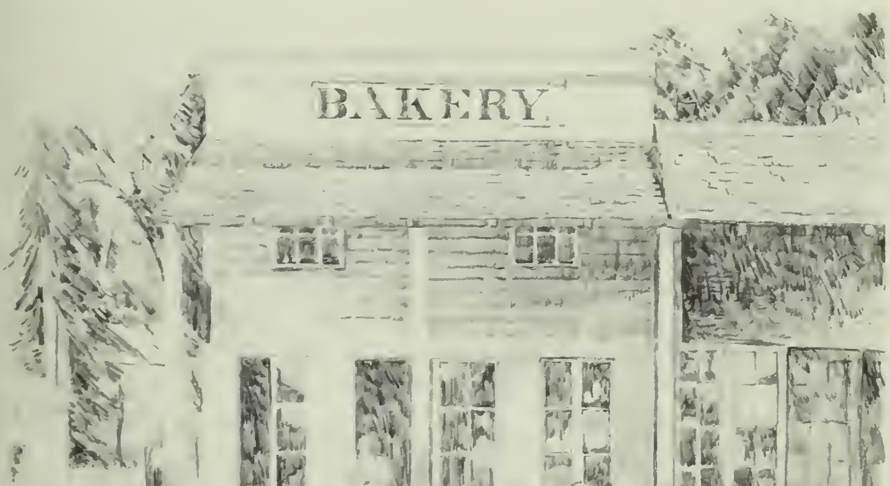
Coffins made to order at the shortest notice.

We have also just finished a new **Hearse,** and with it are prepared to attend funerals anywhere in the county.

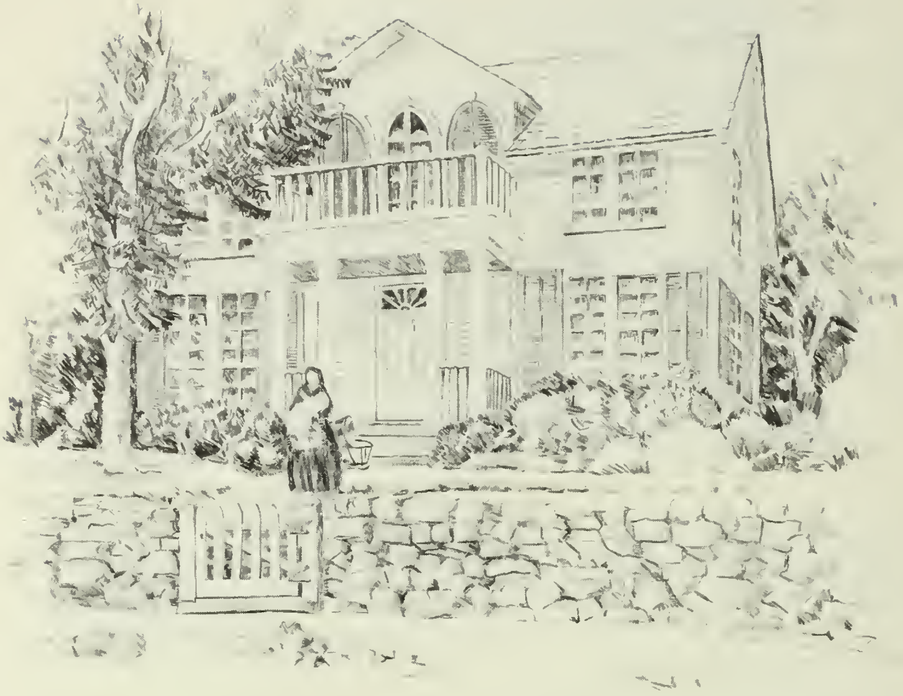
BYSTLE & DURANT.

March 19, 1858. mh20-3m

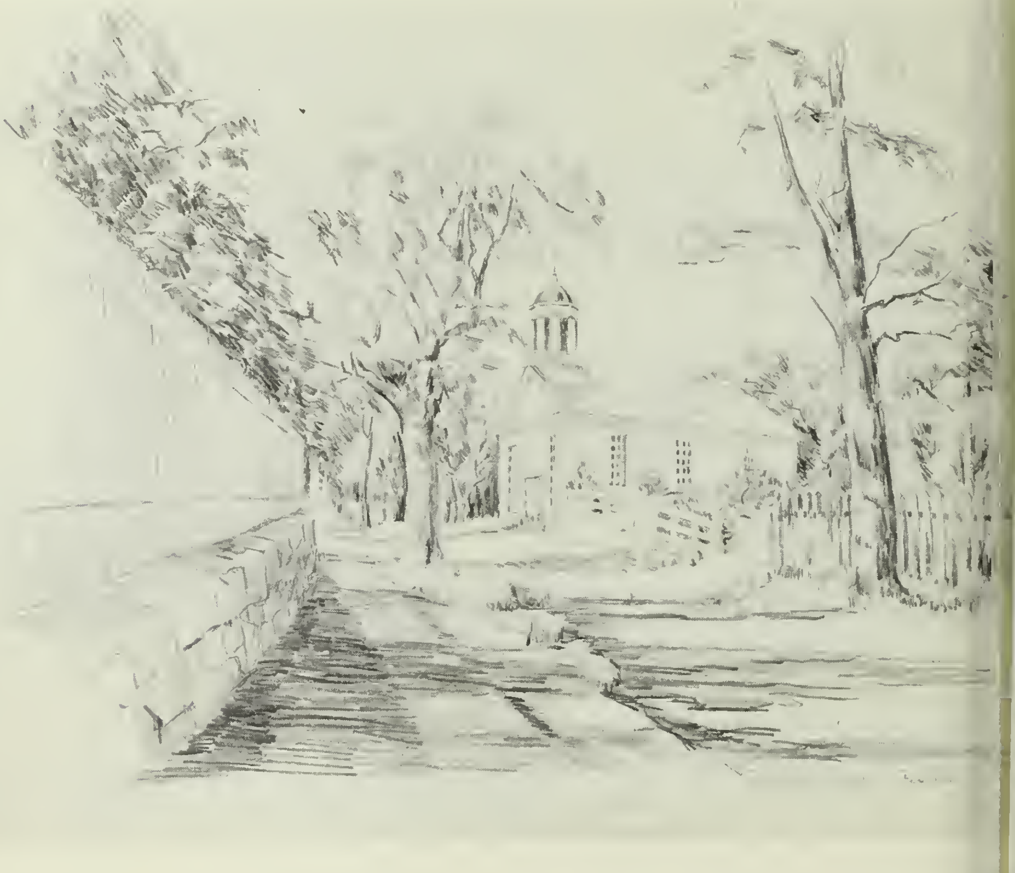
The varied needs of Shastans were anticipated by services advertised in three local newspapers. Citizens could "enjoy a bath in a luxurious style never before experienced," or, if need be, order a coffin "made to order at the shortest notice."



Hungry miners were amply provisioned with hot bread from the ovens of Blum's bakery.



Judge Bush purchased this house for his bride in 1856 for $565.

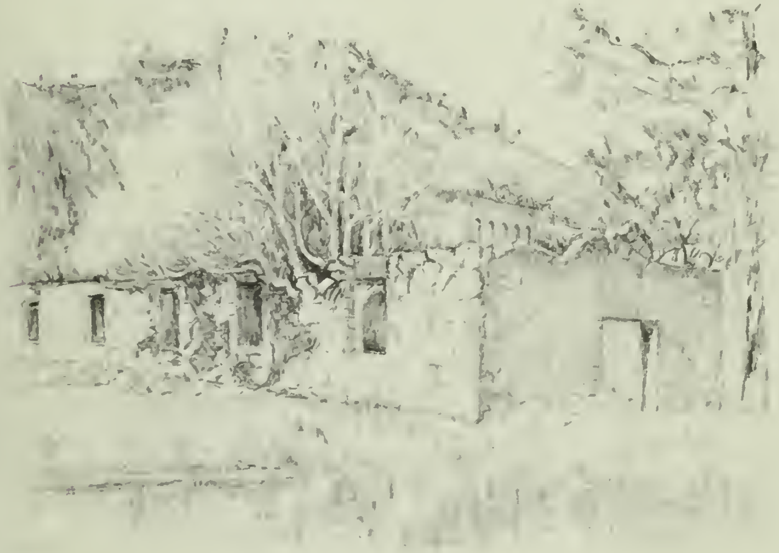


Shasta swiftly grew from a miner's tent colony into an important transportation hub and a busy county seat. In its heyday, it supported a fluctuating population of two to five thousand, depending on the number of transients, and its residents built permanent homes, schools, and churches in anticipation of a secure future.

So many children soon played in the dusty streets that three schools were required to marshall them in their ABC's. The gospel arrived early to rescue the backsliding miners. First on the scene, the Methodists built a church and Sunday school in 1852. The Catholics met in a tiny house beginning in 1853 and soon built a chapel on Cemetery Hill.

Bedazzled by the town's promising future, the Catholics in 1857 laid the foundations for a great basilica "to be based on Italian renaissance designs." The archbishop traveled from San Francisco to lay the cornerstone and more than a thousand of the faithful came to witness the solemn rites. Sadly, the dream far exceeded the reality, and the basilica was never completed beyond the foundation—which still stands, haunted and weed-grown.

In the 1870's the booming town began to falter. The upstart railroad town of Redding lured away its commerce, drew many of its own residents, and—crowning indignity—captured the county seat in 1887. Thereafter, the decline of the town was rapid and inevitable.



Left: *Union Church (1860-1926), built from contributions extracted from the town's saints and sinners, replaced the original Methodist church destroyed by fire in 1856. It served for 66 years before it too burned to the ground in 1926.*

Theodore E. Treutlein

Professor Emeritus of History at California State University, San Francisco; author of San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776.

Fages as Explorer, 1769-1772

PEDRO FAGES WAS an explorer of note in the Bay region. He had been a member of the first exploring party, the Portolá expedition of 1769. In 1770 on his own initiative, as lieutenant and military commander of Upper California, he discovered a land route from Monterey to the south end of San Francisco Bay which was shorter by ten leagues than the route which had been opened by Portolá. On 28 November 1770 some of Fages' men, and perhaps Fages himself, looked through the "Golden Gate" from somewhere above Alameda as probably the first of the early explorers to do this. The members of the 1770 Fages expedition are believed by this writer to have been the actual discoverers of the "Gate," and Fages' brief description of the *quantiosa vocana de estero* (large mouth of the estuary) is the first such description from an eye-witness that we have.

Then in 1772 Fages and Crespí left the first detailed description of the "Gate" and the main islands of San Francisco Bay, the record of what they saw in their march along the shore of San Pablo Bay, their views of Carquinez Strait (which they discovered) and of the confluence of waters of the Sacramento and San Joaquin systems (which they also were the first to see). Fages proclaimed in his diary (entry for Monday, 30 March 1772) that Father Chrespy, as he called him, gave the name to the great system, "The Great River of Our Father San Francisco in Northern California." Finally, according to Herbert E. Bolton's conclusion in the Garcés article (cited below), Fages was the discoverer of the south San Joaquin Valley.

The writer first encountered the Fages diary while working through microfilm *AGN*, Californias, 66-67, Reel 55 (The Bancroft Library), where the diary, along with a letter of transmittal by Fages dated 30 November 1773, may be found. A check on the possible uses which might have been made of the diary by other students revealed the following:

In 1927, Dr. Herbert E. Bolton brought out his *Fray Juan Crespí* wherein he used what he referred to as the Palóu-Figueroa form of the Crespí diary of 1772, along with the "Reason for the Undertaking," taken from what Bolton identified as the Sevilla Ms, the Palóu-Figueroa form without the "Reason" having previously appeared in Bolton's translation of Palóu's *Noticias* (1926). This time, however, in the *Crespí* volume on p. xxv in a footnote, Bolton stated, "Fages also wrote an excellent diary," but provided no further information about this document.

The present writer in frequent use of the famous Bolton *Guide* had never seen reference to a 1772 Fages diary, and in rechecking the *Guide* found listed there only the Fages diary of 1770 (even though the 1772 diary now under discussion is in the same archive, section, and volume as the earlier Fages diary). In other words, Bolton had seen fit not to include the 1772 diary in the *Guide*. (A possible reason for this omission may be surmised from a study of item #14 in Charles Edward Chapman, *A History of California: The Spanish Period* (1930), Appendix, p. 502).

Further checking showed mention of the Fages 1772 diary in a master's thesis by Rudolph H. Drewes, *Pedro Fages, California Pioneer* (U.C., 1927) with no citation or evidence of use of the diary.

Then, in the California Historical Society *Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1931), reference was found to the diary in a Bolton article entitled "In the South San Joaquin Ahead of Garcés," where the diary is mentioned as a *discovery* and also where a part of the diary was used; namely, the *Nota* or addendum, which is actually not a part of the diary proper in specific subject matter, though it is physically a part of the document. In this article Bolton pointed out that "it has not been generally known that Fages also kept a diary of the (1772) journey. He did, it has been discovered and is now available." However, no clue was provided as to the diary's location.

In 1935 the Kern County Historical Society published the same article which had appeared in 1931 in the *CHSQ* as "An Address Delivered Before the Kern County Historical Society in May, 1931" [*sic*]. Again, though a "discovery" of the diary is announced, there is no explanation as to its location.

When Professor H. E. Priestley published *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California by Pedro Fages . . .* (1937), he cited Bolton's use of the *Nota* in the Kern paper (though the *CHSQ* article was not mentioned), but Priestley did not provide a citation for the diary; however, in his Introduction, note #2, p. xi, he asserted that much Fages material still existed in the *Archivo Nacional* (Mexico).

In Priestley's *Franciscan Exploration in California* (1946), (published posthumously, Dr. Priestley having died in 1944), edited by Dr. Lillian Estelle Fisher, one finds for the first time anywhere the complete citation for the 1772 Fages diary, including its location in *AGN*. It is probable that Dr. Fisher had access to a Bolton typescript of the diary (of which, more below), since the microfilm now in The Bancroft Library was not available until June, 1951. It appears to this writer that in the Priestley-Fisher work the diary might have been used as supportive to entries in Crespí's diary for March 26 and 27, 1772, but perhaps not otherwise.

Dr. F. M. Stanger, San Mateo County historian, called this writer's attention to an article by Alan K. Brown, "The Various Journals of Juan Crespí" in *The Americas*, Vol. XXI, No. 4 (April, 1965), which, so far as the writer knows, must be considered the definitive description and analysis of the Crespí diaries. In writing of the 1772 records Dr. Brown states: "Still another version of this journal (i.e., Crespí's diary) is embedded in that of the expedition's commander. Captain Fages' journal is one-half the length of the Mexico text; exactly two-thirds of it corresponds more or less verbatim to Crespí's material. From the movements of the captain and the friar between March and September of 1772, it would seem that Fages might have had access to the material either as rough notes or in final form, but scarcely to the first draft, and in fact the Fages journal occasionally agrees with the Guardian's abridgments against the Mexico text. The approximately 1,870 words that cannot be traced to either source are a problem; many or most are no doubt due to the Captain's own notes or memory, but it is not unlikely that additional material in Crespí's notes was used . . .", pp. 388-389.

The *Key to the Research Materials of Herbert Eugene Bolton*, compiled by Vivian C. Fisher (1961-62) contains (Alta California section, Item #94, Folder #3) a typescript of the Fages diary, along with a rough draft, partly typed and partly in Bolton's handwriting, of the translation of the entries for March 20-24 inclusive, and a smooth draft of the *Nota* which, as stated, had been used in the Garcés article.

Since this diary is thought to be of interest to students of Californiana it is here provided in a translation and with accompanying commentary for which the writer must assume full responsibility. However, he wishes to acknowledge the assistance provided in the preparation of a first draft by Miss Isabel Heredia who compared a photo-copy of the microfilm, a Xerox of the Bolton typescript, and the first draft of this writer's translation in preparing her own most helpful comments.

Then Dr. Alan K. Brown painstakingly went over the document and provided detailed notes, many of which have been utilized in the improvement of the presentation. Of especial value are the indications by Dr. Brown of the particular parts of the diary which differ from Father Crespí's account and of details which add to the information already provided by Crespí. Dr. Brown's conclusions concerning materials "not obviously and directly related to the Crespí texts" are enclosed in ((. . .)).

Some uses of the Fages material may be found in the writer's *San Francisco Bay: Discovery and Colonization, 1769-1776* (California Historical Society, 1968), Ch. 5, p. 39 ff., and in Frank M. Stanger and Alan K. Brown, *Who Discovered the Golden Gate?* (San Mateo County Historical Association, 1969), p. 120 ff.

No effort has been made to "dress up" Fages' rather stilted presentation. It should be noted that though the exploration was from mid-March to early

April, 1772, the Fages diary was not ready for remission to the Viceroy until November 1773. Document #2044 in the Chapman *Catalogue* (microfilm, The Bancroft Library, *AGI*, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Roll III, Bucareli to Arriaga, 27 October 1772) indicates the Viceroy's dissatisfaction at not having received more direct and clear information from Fages about the "new discoveries." Governor Fages was an extremely busy man, but ultimately got around to writing up his report. In his letter of transmittal, Fages reveals that he was responding to inquiries about New California affairs, but states also that he had already sent some information about the new discoveries in a dispatch of 24 June 1772 to Viceroy Croix, Bucareli's predecessor.

The writer has no doubt that, given time, Professor Bolton would have turned to the Fages diary so as to bring it into print. It is hoped that the publication here of this diary, near in time to the bicentennial of the exploration, will be viewed by readers as an effort to complete a project which Dr. Bolton began many years ago when he first made use of Fages' *Nota*, and that the diary will have interest for those who have read about early explorations of the San Francisco Bay region in publications by Bolton and by others who have interested themselves in this subject.

Notes on translation

In the diary itself Fages used the word *arroyo* for any kind of stream. In translation this word has been rendered stream, river, or creek, depending upon the context and on the translator's judgment. A similar "solution" was found for Fages' oft-repeated use of the word *bastante*, which is rendered "enough" or "a fair amount," etc. Except for the use of *Yndio* (for Indian) in the title of the diary, Fages always refers to natives as *Jentiles*, translated here as "heathen." *Encino* is translated as "live-oak"; *roble as* "white-oak"; *aliso* as "sycamore." The word *berrendos* has been translated as "antelopes." In the *Nota* Fages refers to *datiles* which Professor Bolton, in his version of the *Nota*, says were the Joshua trees.

A league is a little under three miles. Distances provided in a diary of this sort may not be considered as more than reasonable approximations. A *vara* is just under a yard. Water to the amount of an orange (*naranja*) in the entry for 27 March is the only example of this kind in this diary, but is not unfamiliar in the descriptions of water quantities found in explorers' accounts. The *ensenada* of Point Reyes in the entry for 28 March is now known as the Gulf of the Farallones. The 1769 expedition camped in San Pedro Valley, the Linda Mar of modern Pacifica.

The heathen who were "the most light and fair in color" (entry for 29 March) are described by Fages as "los mas blancos, rubios . . .". The animals referred to as *cibulos* or *Buras* [*sic*] in the 20 March entry were probably mule-deer.

Notes on the route

Professor Bolton in his *Crespí* carefully worked out the probable route followed by the explorers in 1772. Using modern place names, the way led across the Salinas River to Salinas, thence to San Juan Bautista, Gilroy, San Martin, Morgan Hill, Coyote, San Jose, Milpitas, and from there at convenient distances from the shores of San Francisco and San Pablo bays, then eastward to the Pittsburg-Antioch locality (which is Fages's "Camp of the Return").

From this camp Bolton had the explorers moving to the Concord Valley, entering north of Clayton, and continuing west to Walnut Creek, down past Danville to the Livermore Valley, and finally re-entering the valley of San Francisco Bay through the Mission Pass. However, it is possible that instead of going westward from the Pittsburg-Antioch camp to Walnut Creek, the party moved more directly southward toward the Livermore Valley, perhaps part of the way along Tassajero Creek.

On the 21st of May, 1771, a viceregal order signed by Viceroy Croix reached Monterey ordering the military commander, Pedro Fages, to undertake, by land or by sea, a reconnaissance of the "Port of San Francisco" so as to establish there a mission, to the end that such an important place be not exposed to foreign occupation. The Port referred to, in the geographical understanding of the times, was supposed to lie under Pt. Reyes. A way would have to be found to it around the great estuary—present San Francisco Bay, whose true nature was not yet appreciated—and this Fages was supposed to accomplish. Fages had already made a try to reach the Port, in 1770, but the Viceroy had not learned of this unsuccessful attempt when he dispatched the order which now caused Fages to lead his second expedition. In March, 1772, in company with Father Juan Crespí, military commander Fages began to carry out his order. The Fages diary, presented in full for the first time, was one of the results of this journey.

THE DIARY WHICH WAS KEPT FROM THE MISSION AND ROYAL PRESIDIO OF THE SEÑOR SAN CARLOS OF THE PORT OF MONTE-REY IN SEARCH OF THE PORT OF SAN FRANCISCO. THE CORPS OF THE EXPEDITION WAS COMPOSED OF THE REVEREND FATHER FRAY JUAN CHRESPY, CAPTAIN DON PEDRO FAGES, FOURTEEN SOLDIERS, AND A CHRISTIAN INDIAN, A PAGE TO THE REVEREND FATHER.

Friday, March 20, 1772.

All of us named above set out from the Presidio Royal at ten thirty in the morning, and traveled toward the southeast to the site and river commonly called Monterey, four leagues distant from the port named. We arrived at the place about two in the afternoon and forded the river with great difficulty because of the volume of water which it carried

((and because the sand where we came out of it was very miry. We camped close to the river in its plain, where there was abundant pasturage for the animals.)) During the entire journey we met no heathen except some belonging to Monterey, who were camped on the banks of the lakes at this harbor. This place is the one where the expedition camped the first time, on the 1st of October, 1769.
—4 leagues from Monterey.

Saturday, 21 March.

We set out from the river about six in the morning. We traveled across the plain and after going a short distance we came upon a very miry slough which forced us to detour for about a league in order to find a crossing. We got across it, although with some difficulty for the animals. The passage lay toward the north. Soon afterward we crossed a small creek with quite a bit of water which flowed at the ground level. At the ford we found two little houses very poorly built. The heathen who lived in them took flight as soon as they saw us, and in spite of various efforts which we made to call them they refused to stop, but only ran the harder. We diverted ourselves a while looking at the traps which they had put in the little creek to catch small fish.

Not far from this creek, toward the northeast, we saw many large and small lakes, and the soldiers declared that the preceding slough and creek arose from a large lake which we had ahead of us. Toward the northeast at a distance of two leagues a large grove of trees runs down from the mountain, and I conjecture that it was along a creek formed by the lakes. All this land is as level as the palm of the hand.

After having traveled four leagues, most of the way toward the northeast, we reached a hill of the mountain, round like a sugar-loaf. ((All the land which we crossed was friable and well covered with grass)), but was lacking firewood. We passed the round hill, leaving it on our right, ((and entered along a stream heavily grown with willows, cottonwoods, underbrush, some live-oaks, and laurels)). After a short distance we encountered a lake which forced us to wind about a great deal, and finally, following the banks of the stream for about two leagues, mainly toward the north, we climbed to a small pass through an opening formed by the fair-sized range, treeless, quite grassy, and apparently of good soil. We descended the same pass and after going half a league entered a little valley through which flows a good small stream whose bed is lined with cottonwoods, sycamores, and willows. The valley and creek were named San Benito. ((On its sides it has small mesas of good soil, well covered with grass and some large white-oaks. The width of this little valley must be a quarter of a league in *parts, and sometimes less, and its length is about a league and a half)). We must have traveled this day about six and one-half leagues. San Benito.—10 1/2 leagues from Monterey.*

Sunday, 22 March.

We left the camp and little valley of San Benito after having heard Mass, and in a short distance came to a spacious valley, very grassy and with good land for wheat. Its length from east to west is three leagues, and its width from north to south is not less than two leagues. It has plenty of firewood, live-oaks, and white-oaks, on the slopes and on the mountains to the south. And on top of the mountain there were many redwoods, which are an excellent wood for working. The creek which we have left behind comes from very high up in the mountain and with little work could be turned across the plain to irrigate it if desired. Just before the end of the valley there runs down from the east a small river with little depth and not much water whose bed must be about eight varas wide. We saw many tracks and sleeping places of bears.

*Having crossed the valley in the direction of northeast we entered a hollow of level land in which we came to four lakes and a little spring of running water. After traveling a short distance in the hollow we had to turn to the northwest. The land was covered with grass. We saw antelope, deer, and many cranes. A league after leaving the last hollow we came to another spacious one, level and with very good soil, which must be four leagues wide. Its length is from northwest to southeast, but no one knows where it comes to an end toward the southeast. It has many large lakes of fresh water, several streams of running water which come down from the mountains on one side or the other of the valley. We saw three very large villages ((and at a lake we saw some heathen who were fishing in little rafts (*balsitas*), and others were hunting ducks)). Along the road we came to a lake of salt water, and along its shores a lot of saltpeter (*salitre*).*

After going two leagues through this valley toward the northwest, we came upon a stream which carried much water and gave us lots of trouble to ford it. Near it was a large village whose inhabitants, as soon as they saw us, raised a hubbub, and since we had to pass near it ((I thought it necessary)) to go ahead with some soldiers ((to see if we could pacify them, but I could not do so)) nor induce them to accept some beads. ((However, some of them did give me feathers and arrows, and I took other arrows)) which were stuck in the earth ((points down as a sign of peace. We reciprocated by leaving beads at the place where the arrows were)).

We continued on our way and soon came upon another stream with a fair amount of water. Having traveled a league we camped by anoth-

er stream with much water that comes down from the mountain we had on our left. From the village which we passed to the camp site the land was ((of excellent friability and)) thickly covered with grass. The streams were heavily grown with sycamores, willows, and some live-oaks. On the floor of the valley we saw many cranes, geese, ducks, ((and deer)); and along its sides were several groves, and in the middle of it a considerable number of very large white oaks. It was a site very suitable for a mission. This day's march was of six leagues, and to the place where we camped was given the name San Bernardino de Siena.
—16 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Monday, 23 March.

We set out from camp at six in the morning toward the northwest and after going two leagues crossed a creek of running water which went from one side to the other of the valley. After two hours travel beyond this the valley narrowed down to some two leagues. We ascended a pass over some low hills well-covered with grass, and descended the other side of the pass where we found a copious running stream. We went on through another very level valley well grown with white-oaks and live-oaks. It is two leagues wide, heavily covered with grass and of good soil. In it some chicory and mallow were gathered. This day we saw many antelopes and some deer. No heathen were seen, though we did see clouds of smoke on the sides, which we thought made by heathen, but we did not see them. We traveled six leagues from our last camp on level and good land; the valley narrowed down a good deal and in this narrow place we came to a good stream of fresh runing water where we halted.

From this place we saw that the valley widened out further toward the northwest. Some heathen appeared, but became frightened by the thunder of the firelocks which some soldiers shot at ducks, and began to shout loudly, but in spite of some efforts which were made they would not come near the camp. Very close to where we halted the soldiers saw a large lake of fresh water which the Reverend Father Fray Juan named San Benvenuto.
—22 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Tuesday, 24 March.

The day dawned very overcast and around half past six we set out from the stream and lake of San Benvenuto, continuing in the same direction as the previous day, which was northwest. ((For about a league we went up and down along the right side of the valley. We turned for about two quarter leagues toward the north in the plain)), which in places was five to six leagues wide. The land appeared to be

very good, and was grass-covered and heavily grown with white-oaks and live-oaks. ((We had to cross a dry stream bed which was, however, thickly grown on the banks with cottonwoods, willows, and other trees which we did not recognize. After going a short distance we crossed)) several marshy places, ((which arose partly as we thought from their nearness to the estuary of San Francisco, and also from some small streams which were on our right and came down from the mountain. These streams caused us to turn north and notheast having on our right and close at hand a small stream. We crossed clear over)) to the foot of the mountain although we encountered some marshy places. Before we halted some eight heathen came out to meet us, well-armed, and ((making gestures at us. Quickly they were joined by several others who came from all directions. We tried to divert them and quiet them, asking by signs where there was water. They answered by accompanying us to a very good little stream)) about half way between two villages, belonging to the same heathen, which were about a fourth of an hour apart. The houses ((were hemispherical)); one village had seven ((and the other nine)). Today we traveled about six leagues. This day many antelope were seen. This place we named La Encarnación.
—28 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Wednesday, 25 March.

The Day of Annunciation of Our Lady, after hearing Mass, about seven in the morning we took the direction to the north northwest over very level terrain crossing during the journey five creeks with water, and all heavily grown with live-oaks and sycamores. ((We saw in the plain several heathen, shouting as though they were glad to see us)); on our right hand we passed by five villages with about six houses ((of spherical shape)) in each, and quite a number of heathen inhabiting them. ((On our left hand we had some villages; we were not able to see very clearly how many they were or how many houses they had because they were at some distance)). But we could see plainly the estuary that was on our side and, reaching to it, a very level stretch of land of three or four leagues, black and well-covered with grass. Despite having gone this day some eight leagues we were not able to follow the coast of the estuary to its mouth, and made camp on the ((other)) side of the last stream which carried much water. ((From the camp we saw many heathen of both sexes who, according to the signs, were moving their village toward our line of march. Halfway in our journey, to the right of our way, we saw three fairly large lakes of fresh water)). This camp was given the name of San Salvador de Orta.
—36 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Thursday, 26 March.

We left at six in the morning over level, very grassy terrain, taking the northwest direction followed yesterday through the same extensive plain which has a breadth of about seven leagues, and as we advanced apace we passed several small springs of water ((along the way on the right side)). We crossed three streams, well grown with trees such as ((willows)), cottonwoods, sycamores, live-oaks, and some laurels, and camped on the ((other)) side of the last stream; we were opposite a very big range covered with many savins. In this lived some very large animals with cowlike hooves, bay colored, a completely red neck, and with much hair on the head. They have a tail about a span and a half long and wide, like a small paddle, and very large horns, wide and with six points on each. ((We saw one that must have been about six spans high)). These animals are good jumpers; ((I saw one leap over a creek bed which must have had a width of about six varas*)). This day we saw many bears and deer and the tracks of a mule-like animal which we did not see. This day we traveled some four leagues. And the Reverend Father Fray Juan Chrespy observed the north latitude as 37° 54′.*
At the Sierra Grande covered with many savins.
—40 1/2 leagues to Monterey.

Friday, 27 March.

We started at six in the morning and followed the direction of north northwest, going up and down several very grassy hills; the soil is very good. The reason for going by the hills was because of an arm of the estuary which extended four or five leagues to the front of the mountain. We encountered a bear and gave chase to kill him, ((but did not succeed because he reached a creek, very brush-covered and wooded, with a cliff on both sides of it)). After a league of progress we entered a very spacious grass-covered plain of very good soil. We went three leagues through it, crossing four streams, and ((saw many deer and cranes)).

To the left of our course, bearing west and east, we saw the great mouth of the Estuary of San Francisco, parallel to the ensenada of Point Reyes in the front of where stretch out the seven farallones, which we saw in the year 1769 when we camped near the ensenada. The mouth of the estuary must have a width of about three quarters of a league, with a farallon about a half a quarter-league in the mouth, on the south side. ((On the north of it is a half concealed rock very near to the cliff of the mouth)). Within the estuary we saw ((five)) islands, three of them ((forming a triangle)) in front of the mouth with a large distance between each other, ((and the nearest must have been over a league away)) from the channel of the mouth. The ((largest)) of *the three, which must have had a ((circumference of about three leagues)), was very grassy and fairly wooded. The other two were much smaller, and also were quite verdant. ((The two other islands were somewhat aside from the course of the estuary which stretches about toward the northeast)). We established camp on the ((other)) side of the stream where we were short on firewood.*

In the afternoon of this day a bear was killed near camp. ((I ordered the soldiers to make a reconnaissance and they reported having encountered three veins of ore, one thicker than the others, running from east to west. In the same little canyon where they found the outcroppings is a spring which rises under one outcrop and must run for about one hundred and fifty varas to empty into a lake which must have a diameter of one hundred varas. There must be about a naranja *of water from the spring. North of this spring about a quarter of a league at a deep creek along the slope are three other springs with a pretty plentiful flow. The aforesaid springs of water and outcrops are opposite the San Francisco estuary mouth, and from it about five leagues toward the northeast)). On this day's march we saw quite a number of roses of Castile, poppies (*lirios*), and very lush growing sweet marjoram. We saw few heathen, ((which I conjecture must be owing to the many bears which live in these places)). The trip this day was of four leagues. The Camp of the Seventh Stream.*
—44 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Saturday, 28 March.

We started around seven in the morning and crossed several very grassy plains, and three running streams, full of trees, and they had to be prepared for their crossing, especially the last two which were very deep with much water. On the banks of both we found two villages with quite a few heathen, men, women and children, who offered us some wild onions, potatoes (papas), *and several pieces of feather work, along with two dried geese stuffed with grass—they being a little beside themselves but making a gesture of joyousness and friendship. We reciprocated by giving them some strings of glass beads. For this they were very thankful ((and pestered us to remain)), and about eight heathen kept following us.*

On having gone three leagues we made a stop on the side of a stream in front of which we had the estuary of San Francisco ((which thus trends in a northeasterly direction)). Some heathen came to visit us, with many demonstrations of joy. One of them, wearing a huge feather headdress, came playing a ((bone)) whistle, ((making turns this way and that as he approached us)). They gave us a good many feather pieces, a banner with a net, and a very well-made stone pipe.

We responded with glass beads and other trifles. ((From the last village to the place where we established camp, which must have been round about one league, the course was in the northeast direction and up and down low hills of good earth much covered with grass)). The journey was of five leagues. From the Camp of the Banner.
—49 and 1/2 leagues to Monterey.

Sunday, 29 March.

We set forth at seven in the morning after hearing Mass, and ((when we had gone a league came to a village)) of very friendly heathen who offered us large portions of cacomites *and soap-root, the former being a little wild fruit, round and a bit larger than the hazel. The latter is a small root in the shape of an onion. ((Also they gave us several feather pieces, and showed much pleasure and joy)). We continued on our way ((and in another league approached a second village along the trail. The heathen came out to welcome us and give us gifts in the same ways as had the others)).*

((Some twenty of them)) followed us on their own accord until very near to where we made camp, which was in a spacious plain near a stream of very good water. The march was for about seven leagues, up and down over some hills, very grassy and of ((good)) soil. ((Two and one half leagues)) were toward the northwest alongside the estuary ((which ran in and out of the land in several places. As we reached the top of a hill, after we had passed the said distance)), we saw that from the same estuary an arm projected between some medium-sized hills, the direction in part being to the northeast ((and east northeast, without our being able to see the end in a distance of some twelve leagues which were visible to us)). The width of the arm was in some places a quarter of a league, ((and in others of more. From the top of the same hill we could see that the arm of the estuary, before it made its entry between the hills, forms)) a sort of large, round bay, wherein were seen two or three whale calves (ballenatos). *((In the bay one could also see from here another very large estuary arm that took its direction to the northwest, a part of it heading up against the mountains in the direction of the coast.*

That day the horizons were quite clear and as a consequence we were able to see some twenty leagues where the estuary extended toward the northwest without being able to see the end of it)). On both sides of the estuary we saw many smokes, and the heathen made signs to us saying that they were villages. It is certain that all the heathen we saw along the estuary were very amiable, docile, and fond of giving us all they had. They were almost all of a goodly height, the most light and fair in color we have seen in these lands, and they compare in their *liveliness, dress, and kind of weapons with the heathen of the Santa Barbara Channel. The women are the most modest we have seen. The men wear their hair long and most of them bind it up into ((a kind of tail. They do not have the habit of stealing)). Near the place where we made camp I wanted to test the water which we thought to be of the estuary, and we found it to be good and delicious. ((Along the entire shoreline we saw no trees or anything that could indicate fresh water. On the contrary, along the shores we saw)) many sea shells. The heathen from the other side of the estuary came on several rafts of reeds ((and wanted to take us to the other shore. On one raft five heathen. We thanked them for their favors and gave them some beads and cloth with which they were very happy; they then went back to their lands)). This day we advanced some eight leagues. Camp of the Post. —57 1/2 leagues from Monterey.*

Monday, 30 March.

We broke camp at half past six because mail had arrived from Monterey. We took a course toward the east northeast ((between very grassy hills. After going a league)) we came out to a plain and encountered four heathen ((who, in spite of the various efforts made, we could not calm)). At a pole they left for us feathers, an animal pelt, and some arrows, all close by, while they kept a distance from us of ((about two hundred varas)). I moved up to the pole with a soldier and collected what was there and ((on the same pole hung)) some beads ((with some other trifles so they would take them all as a token of peace)). We saw at a distance of a league from us in the middle of a plain their village ((which was very large and extremely populous)). We continued along the same direction until we reached a stream which had a deep course and carried considerable water, and the banks all overgrown with trees with a good many walnuts, as the soldiers said. It had to be prepared for us so that we could get across; this they managed to do in a short time. We continued our march in the same direction until we reached some hills which formed a pass.

((Close to here, another four heathen came forth toward us, and behaved just like the previous ones. But we got one of them to take the strings of glass beads)) with the result that in a short while there gathered about us some ((fifty)) heathen to receive us, bringing to us many gifts ((of feathers, pelts, and)) soap-root. ((They demonstrated great pleasure and joy, but were somewhat edgy)). It is a fact that all the heathen were very tall ((and well-formed)).

All the land we crossed up to here ((was very level and grassy and of excellent texture; there were a good many white-oaks and live-oaks *studded all over it)). We continued on our way and soon started uphill towards a high pass from where we could see a great stretch of the course of the waters of the arm of the estuary of San Francisco. It twisted in two or three branches over a very large plain, sometimes northeast, sometimes east ((without our being able to find the end in the fifteen or twenty leagues we could see)). Going down the pass we encountered a large plain and followed a direction to the east where we saw many antelope, ((deer)), geese, ((cranes, and a good many tracks of* cibulos *or* Buras (sic) *and others like a mule's)). We covered some eight leagues this day; three to the pass, and the rest all on the last mentioned plain, ((passing to the left of our course, some lakes. The soil appeared to be good and somewhat grassy, but short on firewood.*

We camped on a cove which was made by)) some medium-sized hills that fronted a small stream ((with water which was not very good. I sent out six soldiers to explore the terrain; three to go toward the north as far as the waters allowed them to, so I would be sure of the direction followed by the big channels of water, and also to observe the plains and mountains which lay ahead of us. The other three were sent in the direction of the south and southeast so as to see if on the next day we could find a better direction for the return to Monterey.

The former returned in the evening, reporting that)) the waters continued in their direction in three branches and twisted now to the east and then to the northeast; that at a distance of some fifteen or twenty leagues the three arms united and headed up against some large mountains toward the south southwest; ((that the plain continued toward the east and east northeast, and north and south were many mountains; and that both north and south there were a great many trees coming down)) which seemed signs of streams emptying into the course of the waters. ((Also they explained they had reached)) one of the water branches whose bed was very steep, had tested it with a pole of a vara and a half at its bank to see if it had much depth and had not been able to reach bottom, from which they inferred it carried much water. ((Also they said the width of this stream must have been a quarter of a league, but had little or no tree-cover along its banks.

The three other soldiers returned the same night reporting their opinion that we would be able to find a route to the southeast, and that if we wanted to we could return that way.

The Reverend Father Fray Juan)) named such an immensity of waters and such a great river, The Great River of Our Father San Francisco *in Northern California, which has its course from 37° 54′ in which latitude it has its mouth. About two leagues before reaching this camp the R.P.F. Juan Chrespy observed with the astrolabe the*

latitude 39° 13′ north. ((The camp was named, The Camp of the Return)).
—65 1/2 leagues from Monterey.

Return of this Expedition from the Final Point Reached for the Exploration of the Port and Estuary of Our Father San Francisco.

Tuesday, 31 March.

We left around six in the morning, making our return to the Royal Presidio of Monterey, ((moving in between some middlesized hills)), direction south southeast, and ((after a league)) descended a pass and entered a fairly large plain thickly covered with white-oak, ((and crossed a creek with a good deal of water by the side of which was a village whose heathen were very unmannerly)). They took to their heels ((and though much we tried we could not calm them. In the space of a league)) we crossed the plain toward the south southeast; the soil seemed to be very good. We ascended some middle-sized hills and after going a little farther saw another fairly large plain which we crossed in the same direction. ((and in two leagues we passed by the side of a village of very wild heathen. When they saw us they ran to the tops of the hills to the sides of where we were crossing and gave many shouts. The village had about seven houses of a spherical form)). The last plain we crossed was heavily covered with large white-oaks and live-oaks.

We continued our march toward the southeast through a valley, very peaceful and pleasant, which in places was a half a league wide and in others more; a very plentiful stream ran through its midst, very wooded with laurels, sycamores, white-oaks, and other trees we did not know. The entire valley was of very good soil and very grassy, and with some white-oaks and live-oaks on the hills on both sides of it. We saw in passing a number of heathen, but they were very shy. We camped near the stream, having proceeded eight leagues. From the Camp of the Return—8 leagues.

Wednesday, 1 April.

We left at six in the morning taking the road ((in the middle)) of the valley toward the south; in places it became wider and in others more narrow. After a little distance we ((had to cross)) the stream, ((and we had to prepare it)). We continued our way and in two more leagues we saw ((on our right)), very near to us, quite a big heathen village, but because it was raining we did not want to go to it. The heathen shouted at us, ((now from the village and now from the woods nearby, as warning signals to the neighboring villages. A short *way further on the trail we more or less confirmed our suspicion because)) we found, to the side of a good stream of water an extremely big village of heathen who perhaps numbered in excess of two hundred, of both sexes. On the left side, at about gun-shot distance was another village, a bit smaller than the last. We gave the heathen strings of glass beads ((and asked them through sign language where might be the estuary of San Francisco and if it were far, which they answered with gestures toward the south, pointing the finger down, which means near. We continued on our way in the same direction and at a league ascended a little pass which was formed by some low hills from where we could see a great valley six leagues at its greatest length, and at its shortest, four. The longer part ran from north to south and the shorter from east to west. At the west side there were many tulares and lakes and close to them many bear diggings. The shores of the lake were much overgrown.*

We continued our journey toward the south through a narrow way between the hills and lakes and in a little while reached an abundant stream which we followed alongside, keeping it on our left hand as the valley narrowed)). After eight and one half leagues we made camp beside the stream ((on a tableland which was formed by a hill on the right; and through a ravine formed between this hill and another ran a little stream of very good water to which we gave the name of Father Fray Juan Chrespy because it was discovered by his reverence)). All the country we advanced over this day was very good and had pasture, and was covered with many white-oaks and live-oaks and other trees, with a good many streams of water heavily grown with trees and some hazel-nut thickets. From the Camp of the Return—16 1/2 leagues.

Thursday, 2 April.

We left at six in the morning ((and after proceeding a league we had passed three streams of water, two of which emptied in the one at the side of our camp)). We followed toward the south, the canyon becoming narrower and the land more rough than before, with small descents into little gullies, but all the hollow overgrown with groves of live-oaks and white-oaks. We followed the creek, well-wooded with the same sort of trees as described, for a league and a half and then passed across the bed which carried much water.

We crossed a plain which lay between this creek and another; it must have been about three quarters of a league square, with very friable soil and very grassy. We crossed the other well-wooded stream with its good current of water and a little later ascended some moderate-sized sloping hills covered with ((good)) soil and grass; ((after a league)), we had come to the top of them where they formed a pass ((from *which we could see the estuary and the valley of San Francisco on its south side. We descended until we entered the plain, leaving the large stream that we crossed on March 25 at our right hand side, half a league away from us, the one that had south of it the three lakes referred to on that same day.*

At the bottom of the slope was a fairly large village with a good many heathen who shouted at us)). We came out parallel to the head of the estuary ((and valley)) of San Francisco, continuing in the direction of south southeast, ((and crossed two streams mentioned on March 25. We left three villages of small size on our left which had also been passed on that day. We made camp on a little stream about half a league from where camp was established on the 24th of March. All the land we crossed this day was very fine and grass-covered)). We journeyed about nine leagues. To this place we gave the name, the Arroyo of San Francisco de Paula.

From the Camp of the Return—25 1/2 leagues.

Saturday, 4 April.

We left the Camp of the Stream of the Pass at about six in the morning, crossing the long and broad valley of San Bernardino de Siena which we had crossed on the way up on March 23d, and in ((the midst of it)) we encountered heathen who as soon as they saw us got scared and ran inside their two little houses. ((I wanted to give them)) some little strings of beads, but there was no way we could make them receive the gift. We camped at the same creek and place ((as on the 21st of March)). This journey was of ten leagues. ((Most of the way)) led to the southeast, and the rest to the south southwest. Camp of San Benito. From the Camp of the Return—44 1/2 leagues.

Sunday, 5 April.

After hearing Mass we left at about seven, following to the south, continuing as far as the hill having the shape of a sugarloaf, which must have been about two leagues. From this hill one enters the plain of the river known by the soldiers as the Monterey, while Father Fray Juan called it Santa Delphina. This plain spreads out as far as the river for about four leagues. All the land is very flat and grassy. This plain has many large lakes of fresh water, ((good meadows and pastures for the raising of much livestock)), and is not lacking in little streams which cross in the middle of it. After six leagues we arrived at the river mentioned and which carried a good deal of water so that with difficulty we were able to cross.

We continued the march in the direction of the northwest and in three and one half leagues reached the Royal Presidio of San Carlos of *the Port of Monterey. ((The Reverend Father Fray Juan)) rested almost until sundown, ((his stay with us being about two hours. Then the entire company accompanied his reverence)) to the Mission of Señor San Carlos of the Carmel River, and we arrived there at about half an hour after sundown, where we met the Reverend Father President Fray Junípero Serra; well, thank God. From the Camp of the Return—54 leagues. ((The journey today was 9 1/2 leagues to Monterey and 10 1/2 leagues to Mission del Carmelo)).*

Note.

((From the Camp of the Return or Bad Water to a village called Buena Vista, because it is situated on a hill of medium height that stands out above much of the plain (of the River of San Francisco); this plain probably must exceed one hundred and twenty leagues in length and is in places twenty, fifteen, or fewer, leagues wide. In its entirety it is a labyrinth of lakes and tulares. The River of San Francisco, which separates into several arms, winds about in the middle of the plain, now entering and now flowing out of the lakes, until it is very near its outlet at the estuary of San Francisco into which it runs and empties. Between the windings of the river and along its sides are a good many very large patches of good friable soil which can easily be drained of water.

The entire plain is very thickly settled with many large villages. (The natives) are plentifully supplied with seeds, especially the kind which the soldiers call 'heathen rice'. This grows taller than our rice and has a very good flavor. There are two species, one white and the other yellow, and the grain is like mustard. Game also is plentiful—deer, antelopes, mule deer, bear, geese, cranes, ducks, and countless other kinds of animals, both terrestrial and winged.

In their villages the natives live during the winter in very long blocks, the families separated from each other, and outside they have very large buildings in spherical form where they keep their seeds and utensils. They are a people of very good features and of superior height, and are very frank and generous; it has not been noted that they have committed the least theft. They have some large stones like metates on which they grind their seeds.

From the village of Buena Vista the plain continues toward the south for seven leagues more, over good lands with some water, and at the end, toward the south, one goes through a pass partly of creek hollows very thickly grown with groves of white-oaks and live-oaks as are also all the hills and mountains which form them. Going now three leagues in the same direction, one comes to a very large plain, which keeps getting wider and wider both towards the east and towards the south, leaving to the north and northwest many mountains.

Last year, going in pursuit of deserters, I ended up in that plain fifty leagues toward the east of San Diego. For lack of water we went to the mountain and reached the plain again, being parallel to Mission San Gabriel, and about fifteen leagues from it. We went along the plain toward the north, keeping close to the mountain on account of water, for about twenty-five leagues until we reached Buena Vista pass. For most of the twenty-five leagues we were passing through groves of palmares de datiles *(Joshua trees), the land both to the east and south having more and more such groves, yet the country appeared to be very short of water. We saw many clouds of smoke everywhere in the plain.*

The Royal Presidio of San Carlos of Monterey.
November 27, 1773.
Pedro Fages (Rubric).

End of the dispatch.

Charles Wollenberg
Instructor of History and Political Science, Laney College, Oakland.

Through the Viewing Glass with Turn-of-the Century Photographers

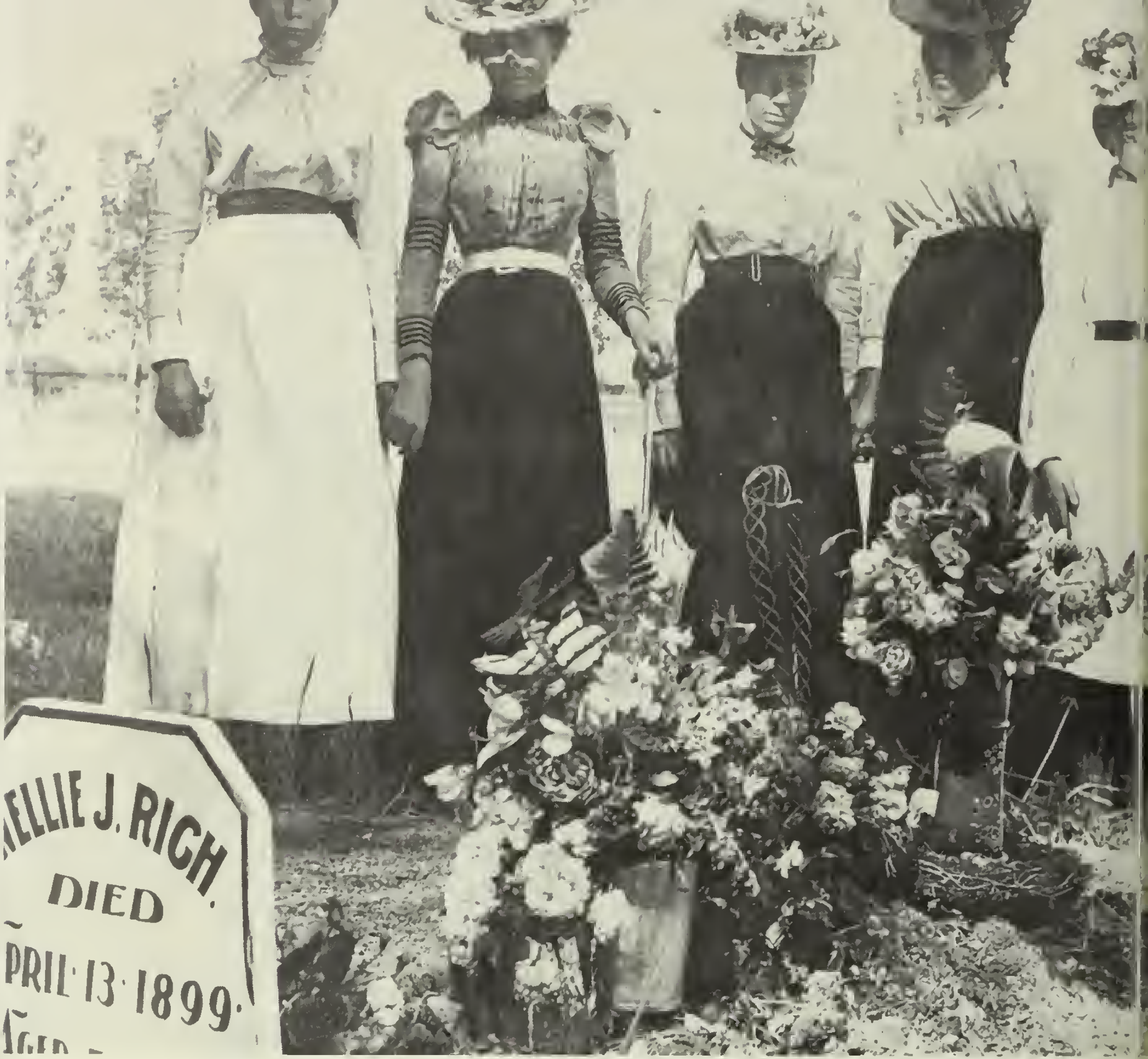
Among san francisco's first daguerreotypists, William Shew opened his place of business in 1851: it was a wagon in Portsmouth Plaza. By the 1880's, the city had become a center of professional photography, and during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, vast quantities of glass negatives were processed. Large numbers have survived, and about 2500 of them are housed in the Californiana portion of the Special Collections Department of the San Francisco Public Library.

Last August a small part of the library's collection was displayed in a show titled "Photographs of the Bay Region, 1860-1906" prepared by Richard Hansen at the Focus Gallery, 2146 Union Street. The show included some of the collection's "spectaculars": a thirteen section panorama of the city taken in 1877 by Eadweard Muybridge from the Hopkins mansion on Nob Hill, Muybridge's studies of the interior of Leland Stanford's home, an anonymous photographer's turn-of-the-century view of the Richmond District from Parnassus Heights. There also were the standard shots of the Cliff House, Sutro Baths, and scenes of the 1906 fire.

But the most charming and sensitive portions of the show were dozens of posed pictures of ordinary people. In most cases, we do not know who the people or their photographers were, but the pictures convey a sense of humanity and life that give the viewer a special insight into the past. We have published a few of these pictures to give you a taste of what was a fine photographic exhibit and to acquaint you with the growing resources of the San Francisco Library's Californiana collection.

That collection consists of a great variety of materials, from gold rush manuscripts to contemporary underground newspapers. It is gradually being catalogued by an under-manned and over-worked staff under the direction of Mrs. Gladys Hansen, mother of the Focus Gallery show's organizer. The collection, including the glass negatives, are not open for casual browsing but are available to students, scholars, and other citizens with a serious interest. Reproduction service is available, and prints of most photographs that appeared in the show can be obtained through the Focus Gallery.

NOTE: This is the first of a projected series on the noteworthy pictorial archives in California.



Who are they? The mourning quintet holding hands before the grave of a Nellie J. Rich on a spring day in 1899, or the modest maiden, posing coyly in the altogether? No one knows. But time dissolves in their presence, evoked on the glass plates of some forgotten photographer. Of such are the extraordinary photographs in the special collections of the San Francisco Public Library.

Four to three, starched and pressed for a holiday outing, seven swells pose in the park; a sturdy bicyclist, transfixed by the camera, stands before a lens; and a confident and unbruised boxer poses with his entourage.

Book Reviews

CHARLES WOLLENBERG, *Book Review Editor*

Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration. By Theodora Kroeber. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970. xi + 292 pp. Photos. $7.95.)

Reviewed by D. L. OLMSTED, *Professor of Anthropology, University of California, Davis.*

THIS BOOK, the latest by the author of *Ishi* and *The Inland Whale,* is a biography of her late husband, the great anthropologist whose spirit still suffuses departments of anthropology, not only at Berkeley, but on the other campuses of the University of California as well. Having come to California at the turn of the century, fresh from his graduate work at Columbia under Boas, Kroeber became and remained the dominant figure on the anthropological scene here until his death sixty years later. As a result of his personal exertions—and those of his students—California is probably better-known anthropologically than any other region of comparable size in the world. A staggering amount of this knowledge was collected by Kroeber himself and published in his monumental *Handbook of the Indians of California* as early as 1925. However, Kroeber did much besides study California Indians; he made major contributions to such disparate areas as anthropological theory, the archaeology of Peru, typological linguistics, folklore, comparative design, ecological anthropology, the comparative study of civilizations . . . one could go on and on. By the time of his death, he was unquestionably one of the great figures in anthropology anywhere in the world, and very little of his major work has been superseded, though it has been built upon by others.

One who occupied a long life with unceasing scholarly activity had neither time nor inclination to write extensive memoirs and necessarily remains somewhat mysterious to generations later than his own. To those who wish to understand this towering figure in the intellectual history of California, Mrs. Kroeber's book can be highly recommended.

Roughly a sixth of the book is devoted to Kroeber's family, his childhood in a German-American intellectual milieu in New York City, his academic precocity, his schooling. The end of this first section is particularly noteworthy for an excellent short sketch of Franz Boas and of Kroeber's relations with him.

Mrs. Kroeber next turns to the early San Francisco years, when Kroeber came to take charge of some museum collections and stayed on to found the world-renowned Department of Anthropology at Berkeley. Her accurate account of the role played by Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst in the development of the university's collections, and her sympathetic treatment of Kroeber's first marriage are highlights of this section.

The decade between Kroeber's marriages saw the beginnings of his life-long friendship with Robert Lowie, his brief but intensive interlude with psychoanalysis, both as analysand and as lay analyst, his first trip to Peru, and the first decisive expansion of the Berkeley department along teaching, rather than curatorial, lines.

Then he met, fell in love with, and married Theodora Kracaw Kroeber. No paraphrase could do justice to the charming account she gives of their life together and of his further anthropological activities, many of which she shared. Her account of this aspect is of great interest, since anthropologists, unlike many other workers in the academic vineyard, spend large amounts of their lives doing field work among people whose cultures are very different from their own. This circumstance gives a special flavor to life with an anthropologist, whether his or her family goes along on such field trips or stays home. Anthropologists and their families handle this problem in various ways, depending on the wishes of the couple, the ages of the children, and other factors. Mrs. Kroeber's story is therefore fascinating for the glimpses it affords of the patterns of life and work developed by this very productive couple, who were raising four children while doing field work, teaching, and writing—both of them—voluminously. Though she gave up her own graduate training when she married (in accordance with a pattern perhaps more common then than now), Mrs. Kroeber's intelligence did not suffer thereby; it is evident in her independently-won position as a writer on anthropological topics. Though she modestly disclaims anthropological expertise, her judgments are generally those of a professional. Since she knows so much and writes so well, this book can be enthusiastically recommended to anyone, anthropologist or not.

Minorities in California History. Edited by George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg. (New York: Random House, 1971.)

Racism in California: A Reader in the History of Oppression. Edited by Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr. (New York: MacMillan, 1971.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Book Review Editor of the California Historical Quarterly and Instructor of History and Political Science, Laney College, Oakland, and co-editor of* Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California.

"Ethnic history," if by that we mean the history of non-white groups in America, is certainly "in" this season. Since the protests and upheavals of the sixties, American historians have turned out great quantities of material on minority groups and racism in the United States. The quality of these works has varied from pseudo-books, obviously aimed at the faddish marketplace, to serious scholarship which probes deeply into the nature of the American mind and society.

Most of these studies have been written primarily to show that "white racism" is an integral and important part of American history. One cannot blame historians for repeating this fact again and again, given the reluctance of textbook writers, let alone politicians and the general public, to accept the historical record. But it is now high time for writers of ethnic history to go beyond the process of documenting and re-documenting the existence of racism in America's past. We need serious analyses and interpretations of ethnic groups in roles other than victims. For example, we should know more about the ability of black people to create and maintain a distinctive and valuable Afro-American life style and the ability of Japanese farmers to obtain land in spite of restrictive Alien land laws. The role of Japanese as employers of other ethnic groups should be explored.

Recent general studies of the non-white experience in California have only partially met this need. Roger Daniels and Harry Kitano have produced a useful analysis of American racism based on a brief survey of the California experience, but their book's historical coverage is little more than a summary outline. Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist have presented a good account of the racist features of California's first state constitution, but have failed to give adequate coverage to the experiences of various groups in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Paul Jacobs and Eve Pell included much valuable California material in their documentary collection, but their major purpose seems to have been to expose rather than explain racism. I have edited two collections of original essays on ethnic experience in California, but neither was intended to be a comprehensive study of the subject.[1] The embarrassing truth is that none of us who have labored in the field of California ethnic history in recent years has equalled the range of coverage and ideas exhibited by the collected works of Carey McWilliams in the 1930s and 1940s.

Now we have two new entrants: *Racism in California: a Reader in the History of Oppression*, edited by Roger Daniels and Spencer Olin, Jr., and *Minorities in California History*, edited by George E. Frakes and Curtis B. Solberg. The two books are similar in format: collections of readings supplemented by introductory passages. The readings primarily are fragments of previously published works by a variety of authors, while the introductions are written by the editors themselves. Both books are aimed at college audiences, as supplemental assignments for California history or ethnic studies classes. The readings in both books are designed primarily to document the existence of prejudice in California's past and present.

Despite these similarities, there are differences between the books which, to my mind, make the Daniels and Olin volume the better work. Frakes and Solberg devote about half of their book to "current problems"; as a result, historical coverage is thin, particularly on the important period from 1880 to 1940. Frakes and Solberg include material on radical students of the 1960s, but they do not adequately explain the historical parallel between this "minority" and the various ethnic groups they cover. In an apparent effort at objectivity, Frakes and Solberg provide cautious, even bland, introductions which are of little use to the reader.

In contrast, the historical coverage of the Daniels and Olin book is generally good and the introductions are lively and factual. The editors are not afraid to let the reader know where they stand on issues. Sam Yorty's 1969 mayoral campaign is described as a "naked appeal to white solidarity," while the difference between white racism and black racism is defined as the difference between a "means of oppression" and a "response to it." Readers may disagree with such judgments, but it is refreshing to see the editors' viewpoints so honestly and clearly stated. However, in fairness to Frakes and Solberg, my preference for their competitors' work may not be totally unbiased; Daniels and Olin included a portion of one of my own articles in their book.

But of greater importance than the question of which of these volumes is the better book is the fact that neither collection of fragmentary readings is a substitute for a comprehensive, well-documented interpretation of California ethnic history. Such an interpretation remains unwritten; indeed, the basic groundwork of scholarship on which the interpretation must be built remains largely undone. We need comparative and case studies to answer crucial questions. For example, what has been the relationship between race and socio-economic class in the state? What kind of conflicts and alliances have existed between different groups, both non-white and white, and what are the similarities and differences between the groups' respective experiences? How does ethnic experience in California fit into larger themes of migration and social mobility in the state and nation? Treating such questions would move the study of California ethnic history away from the narrow and provincial perspective it often has displayed in the past. California's ethnic experiences are unique in some respects, but also are part of the larger social history of the state and nation, and they must be treated as such.

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[1] Harry Kitano and Roger Daniels, *American Racism, an Exploration of the Nature of Prejudice* (Englewood Cliffs, 1970); Robert Heizer and Alan Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley, 1971); Paul Jacobs, et al., *To Serve the Devil* 2v. (New York, 1971); Charles Wollenberg (ed), *Ethnic Conflict in California History* (Los Angeles, 1970); Wollenberg and Roger Olmsted, (eds.) *Neither Separate Nor Equal: Race and Racism in California* (San Francisco, 1971).

The Royal Navy and the Northwest Coast of North America, 1810-1914: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy. By Barry M. Gough. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1971. xvi + 294 pp.)

Reviewed by A. P. NASATIR, *Professor of History, California State University, San Diego*

IT IS A PLEASURE to review a well written, solidly researched work. Gough's book is just that. In this volume Gough has supplemented the plethora of works on settlers, migrations and fur traders who crossed the continent. He writes also about traders who plied the Pacific Ocean, and of international relations and rivalries. Here we have for the first time the entrance of the important part played by the Royal Navy. Perhaps Gough has gone a bit to the extreme in some of his statements depicting the role and influence of the Royal Navy, but that is of no great consequence for the student saturated with personal accounts and biases, and international diplomacy. Gough, in his admirable portrayal of the activities of the Royal Navy in the Pacific, and his listing and accounting of the several single, and some plural ship visits to the Pacific Coast, has stressed the point, which to this reviewer is extremely important, that the naval power of Great Britain in the 19th century remained feared and almost unchallenged. Hence, the single or few Royal Naval ships in the Pacific represented the great and preponderant, not to say overbearing influence of British power in international and colonial policy. After all, any nation that had a war vessel present at the spot at the right moment (as for example, in Hawaii) usually got the advantage.

Professor Gough has saturated himself with the history, diplomacy and settlement of the Pacific Northwest. A native of British Columbia, he has done a magnificent job in filling in lacunae in the history of the area.

Obviously proud of the Royal Navy, Professor Gough, steeped in British naval history, naval logistics and ships, has approached his problem in a series of essays (in a sense) on topics or crises. He explains in detail the role of the Royal Navy in the origin and growth of British Columbia, and uses that area as his focal point of interest. He begins his book with Anglo-American rivalry over the Oregon Country through the settlement of 1846, and after that focuses even more so on British Columbia. He gives a careful account of the Pacific squadron's operations in combination with the French in the attack on Petropavlovsk during the Crimean War, the work of the Royal Navy in assisting in maintaining order during the Fraser River Gold Rush and preventing hostilities during the "Pig War"; he goes on to tell how this same navy helped support British neutrality during the American Civil War, and kept the Fenians under surveillance.

Gough also pays attention to naval logistics; he details Esquimault's development as a naval base, as well as technological changes in the Royal Navy during the 19th century. Even though he emphasizes the impact of the navy in determining outcomes of incidents and minimizing other factors, he does issue several disclaimers and gives references to take care of that.

This reviewer has little but praise for Professor Gough's book. He would have liked to have had Gough go more deeply into the rivalry of the two powers, and indeed other powers as well, for California, and show more intimately what the British navy under Seymour did (or rather did not do) with respect to California. However, Gough's center of interest is north of California, and this reviewer's interest is south of Puget Sound.

Professor Gough has embellished his book with a wealth of 45 illustrations and seven maps. The book is well written, handsomely printed, and merits reading by students, general readers and teachers. It is provided with an extensive bibliography and has a serviceable index. The value of the book is enhanced with a number of appendices giving lists of ships and complements of the Pacific Station, the distribution of the Royal Navy, commanders-in-chief of the Pacific Station and the changing technology in British warships.

Certainly the book fulfills the subtitle: A Study of British Maritime Ascendancy.

By Anna Marie and Everett Gordon Hager

BOOK NOTICES

Partial to bibliographies? A unique and very selective bibliography will be discovered in perusing Carey S. Bliss' AUTO'S ACROSS AMERICA–A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRANSCONTINENTAL TRAVEL: 1903-1940 (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 60 pp., $15.00). Intriguingly adorned with facsimile title pages of the publications discussed, along with an equally unusual, as well as thought-provoking addition, of "Rejected Titles." This book may well induce a minor disturbance in the book collecting field. Collectors of bibliographies and of fine printing will desire it for their libraries as it is exquisitely printed by Saul and Lillian Marks of the famed Plantin Press. Then—the automotive buffs will soon set up a frantic search after they discover this diverting one-of-a-kind bibliography of guide-books used by our automotive pioneers has been issued in a limited edition of only 315 copies.

Then there is the choice item compiled and annotated by the Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist of the archdiocese of Los Angeles, A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHICAL GUIDE TO CALIFORNIA HISTORY, 1863-1972 (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 40 pp., $7.00), which has just been added to the growing list of well prepared bibliographies covering the literature of our Golden State. The 200 entries are selective in scope, but the commentary provides stimulating and entertaining viewpoints on the books selected and discussed. A Foreword by the noted bibliographer Robert G. Cowan enhances this edition which could be classified as an enlargement of an earlier work, issued in 1968, by Reverend Weber, "A Bibliography of California Bibliographies," and that all too soon gained an out-of-print status. This newer edition, no doubt, will gain a similar status since a mere 250 copies have been offered for sale.

Mark and Marie Harrington spent many long and happy years together working toward the eventual restoration of the Mission San Fernando and of the Andrés Pico adobe in the San Fernando Valley. Shortly before the demise of Mark, a noted anthropologist, the Harringtons had tasted the joy of bringing about much of its needed restoration. With restoration all but completed and joy of accomplishment so close at hand, last year's damaging earthquake of February 9th has only renewed Marie Harrington's efforts and those of the local historical society to complete the sorely needed restoration work. Mrs. Harrington's keen interest in seeking aid and support to keep alive and bring about the complete restoration of her beloved Mission is evident in her MISSION SAN FERNANDO–A GUIDE (Mission Hills: San Fernando Valley Historical Society, 1971. 36 pp., $2.00 paper-back). The Mission's history, secularization period, decay and restoration efforts during the 1930's are included in her brief study.

Numerous, indeed, are the small handbooks to take along while visiting Baja California. One such publication that should be in a packsack of reading materials for such a trip is Tina Kasbeer's informative FLORA OF BAJA NORTE (Glendale: La Siesta Press, 1971. 36 pp., $1.00). The traveller will gain much of the beauty and wonder from such a visit by using this small handbook. In addition to the good photographs and map, Miss Kasbeer has included medicinal plants and their unusual uses, the variety of botanical puzzles that exist in Baja California Norte and discùsses some of the botanical explorers of the area. As a valuable lagniappe she has added an unusual chapter on "Birds and their Plant Affiliations."

Two biographical studies to note would surely include the work of Reverend Francis J. Weber about California's first Roman Catholic Bishop, FRANCISCO GARCIA DIEGO: CALIFORNIA'S TRANSITION BISHOP (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1972. 63 pp., $8.50). This study spans the years 1833, the tense period of secularization of the missions and the days before American occupation in 1846. This is a finely prepared biographical and historical tribute to California's first bishop.

Dr. William O. Hendricks, Director of the Sherman Foundation in Corona Del Mar, has prepared a brief outline of the career and accomplishments of Moses H. Sherman, a Southern Californian and Arizonan pioneer. A leader in land development not only in these two areas but also in Baja California, Coachella and Imperial valleys and in Nevada, Sherman deserves a full scale biography. This small 20-page outline provides a brief insight into the vastness of Sherman's land and business enterprises and vision. General Moses H. Sherman organized and developed the Los Angeles Consolidated Electric Railway including the famed "Balloon Route" between Los Angeles and her beach towns. He also held a strong position, along with the Chandlers and Lankershims, in the development of San Fernando Valley. Well designed and printed by the Castle Press of Pasadena, Dr. Hendricks' M. H. SHERMAN, A PIONEER DEVELOPER OF THE PACIFIC SOUTHWEST (Corona Del Mar, California: 1971. 20 pp., Gratis), might well provide the springboard to a full length biographical study on Sherman.

For the 1973 anniversary of the "Day of the Great Fire," here are some fifty-eight poems all devoted to an account of California's most appalling disaster, which could very well be read aloud during the 1973 observance. The days that followed April 18, 1906, with some 200,000 people camped in Golden Gate Park when a once-proud city was almost completely gutted, are caught up and described by John Robert Colombo in his book of poems, THE GREAT SAN FRANCISCO EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE (Fredericton, N.B., Canada: Fiddlehead Poetry Books, University of New Brunswick, 1971. 48 pp., $2.50 paper-back).

A wealth of local historical studies worth noting are among the following titles covering the length of California.

A barrister who has assiduously devoted a lifetime to preserve the history of Santa Ana in Orange County and some of its foibles is Charles D. Swanner. His is in an enviable position for in 1953 his SANTA ANA: A NARRATIVE OF YESTERDAY, 1870-1910, was followed by THE STORY OF COMPANY L, then in 1965 his FIFTY YEARS A BARRISTER IN ORANGE COUNTY appeared. Now, in THOSE WERE THE DAYS: RECOLLECTIONS OF CHARLES D. SWANNER (Elsinore: Mayhall Print Shop, 1971. 78 pp., $3.50 paper-back), choice vignettes of a warmly reflective viewpoint of earlier events and boyhood memories are presented.

Out Twentynine Palms way, the Calico Press is busily engaged in reissuing in new and enlarged editions various of their very worthwhile earlier publications. Now a third edition of their LOST MINES OF DEATH VALLEY, by Harold O. Weight (1970. 86 pp., $2.50 paper-back) is available. Well worth the modest price it contains a fine collection of twenty-four photographs and Norton Allen's two-page map. Rock hounds and seekers of "lost" mines may discover that Weight's book will boost that tempting urge to get out and re-explore this dramatic and picturesque region.

In ALPINE, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA: HISTORY OF A MOUNTAIN SETTLEMENT, by Beatrice LaForce (El Cajon: The Sunlight Press, 1971. 520 pp., $7.00 hard bound; $4.95 paper-back), the student of local history will discover a wealth of data, illustrations and a clear historical picture of a San Diegan back country mountain hamlet.

Beginning with the Kumeyi Indians to the present occupants of the Viejas and Barona Indian Reservations, farming scenes encompassing four score years, schools, churches, early roads and stages are all covered. Mrs. LaForce has gathered together all pertinent facts and legends about her home community. Through dint of much labor and time she has succeeded in presenting an enriching community grass roots history, embellished with the astounding collection of 571 photographs. Alpine is located in El Cajon Valley, of San Diego County, some thirty miles east of San Diego. The chapters on "The Water Story" and "Artists of Alpine" deserve special notice.

Along with the various civic festivities and observances the Mission San Gabriel marked the commencement of her 200th year with a nicely printed Bicentennial Edition, MISSION SAN GABRIEL: TWO HUNDRED YEARS, 1771-1971 (San Gabriel: The Claretian Fathers, 1971. 128 pp., $2.25) edited by the Reverend William E. King, C.M.F., depicts some of its history, visitors and efforts to keep alive the traditions of California Mission life. A very large portion of this book is given over to advertisements which helped defray the cost of this commemorative edition.

Fortunately reissued and published by the Reed School District Parent-Teacher Club, SHARK POINT–HIGH POINT: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF TIBURON AND BELVEDERE IN MARIN COUNTY, CALIFORNIA, by the Eighth Graders of the Reed School, Classes of 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957 and 1958 (Belvedere-Tiburon: Graphic Arts, 1970. 98 pp., $3.50 paper-back) will continue to please readers not only the residents of beautiful Marin County but railroad and maritime buffs throughout California. This is a local historical study, well designed with clear and beautifully reproduced photographs, maps and well prepared notes and bibliography. This publication provides a splendid example for other Californian schools to study and emulate.

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In Memoriam

WILLIAM WILCOX ROBINSON, 1891-1972

W. W. Robinson was a remarkable man. I knew him for only one-half of his eighty-one years during which he gathered many honors, including being made a Fellow of the California Historical Society. While I regret missing those exuberant experiences of his early life, I cherish his last forty years of scholarly accomplishments in which he became the foremost historian of the Southern California scene. We who knew him during those years will remember him as a rather quiet, reserved and conservative man, always willing to share his great knowledge of the area in which he lived and which he loved. Perhaps no man knew its history better or recorded it more completely and accurately.

In his youth, as an undergraduate at the University of Southern California and at the University of California at Berkeley, from which he graduated, he considered himself to be a liberal socialist. He was curious about all aspects of life and especially, at that time, in the lives of the underprivileged. He attended I.W.W. meetings and haunted the colorful portions of town in which these people spent their lives, the honky tonks and shabby bars of Main Street and East Fifth Street in Los Angeles and the Barbary Coast of San Francisco. From his high school days he wanted to write and the basic material for a writer seemed to him at that time to be among the derelicts stumbling about in their tawdry world of cheap glitter. He wrote for the confession magazines such stories as "Infatuation Legalized. Told by a Business Man" and "Dance Hall Owner—A.B., Ph.D." As this phase passed he began to write poetry which was published in numerous magazines and culminated in a book, *Urgent Shapes*. His talents were varied and exceptional. During the Depression, when his salary was cut, he more than supplemented it with numerous juveniles which he wrote and his wife, Irene, illustrated—books of lasting interest such as *Beasts of the Tar Pits*, *Ancient Animals*, *Elephants* and *Lions*.

One can hardly picture the W. W. Robinson we knew so well as the poetic roustabout he seemed to be in those early days of his life. Edward Weston caught this aspect of his personality perfectly in a portrait he made of him in 1929. I believe that Will Robinson at one time would have preferred to have been a complete Bohemian, but by mere chance his life was funnelled into historical research. After graduation from high school he found a job with the Union Title & Abstract Company searching titles. This led him to the files of the courthouses of Riverside and San Bernardino counties. History became very real as he became aware of the beginnings of the ranchos and of the lives of the early settlers of California. His training in those early years was very important in his later life. He became a stickler for accuracy and for investigating and checking sources before he ever wrote a word. He decried misinformation, which he maintained was continually compounded by one writer repeating another's error until it became accepted as fact. He once made such a mistake in an historical booklet about the origin of Beverly Hills, and despite repeated retractions his original statement has become gospel. This he considered to be the one black mark in his historical writing.

After college, title work became Robinson's means of livelihood and with it came an ever increasing knowledge of local history. The 1930's, in Southern California, was an especially fortunate period for its absorption. There abounded men interested in western history. Henry Raup Wagner had retired to San Marino to be adjacent to the Huntington Library with its resources. Frederick Webb Hodge was at the Southwest Museum. Carl Wheat had moved down to Los Angeles and revitalized the Historical Society of Southern California, inaugurating its *Quarterly* in 1934, and established the Platrix chapter of E. Clampus Vitus. J. Gregg Layne and Robert Woods were amassing valuable libraries—and a legendary knowledge of local history. Robert Ernest Cowan had an incredible knowledge of California books and history, and the inimitable Lindley Bynum travelled the state, gathering material first for the Huntington Library and later for the University of California. Phil Townsend Hanna edited *Westways* and was a fount of information.

Will Robinson absorbed from all of these and, as they passed from the scene, he became the pre-eminent historian of Southern California. His books are many, including *Ranchos Become Cities; Land in California; Panorama; Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo*, published by the California Historical Society; *Los Angeles: A Profile; Maps of Los Angeles;* and of course the delightful, *Tarnished Angels: Paradisiacal Turpitude in Los Angeles.*

As an able and recognized historian he was also a valued Director of the Historical Society, a member of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, a past president of the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, vice president of the Title Insurance and Trust Company, member of the Cultural Heritage Board of Los Angeles, director of the Friends of the Huntington Library and a friend to all who knew him.

WARD RITCHIE

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